INDIA

A Journal for the Discussion of Indian Affairs.

REGISTERED FOR] [TRANSMISSION ABROAD.

No. 18. Vol. II.] MARCH 6, 1891. [PRICE, PER COPY, 2d., or 4 as. YEARLY, POST FREE, 2/6, or 3 rs.

CONTENTS:

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA: *With Coloured Diagrams and Explanatory Statements:*

	PAGE.
I.—Income per head per Annum	77
II.—Income per Province, showing insufficiency for sustenance	78
III.—Prices of Salt per Maund of 82 lbs.	79
IV.—Individual Excess Income and Minus Income in the United Kingdom and in India	80
V. and VI.—Average Length of Life, England and India; Three Years of Famine Deaths, Do. of Fever Deaths	81
VII.—War Life-Loss, Excess Indian Deaths	82
VIII.—Absentee Landlordism and a Ruinous Drain	83
IX.—Percentages of Population: Employment	84

	PAGE.
ADVERTISEMENTS	95, 96
BRADLAUGH, THE LATE MR.	70
" " " AND MARKET RIGHTS AND TOLLS	70, 89
CAINE, MR. W. S.: Welcome Home	67
CHARRIAR, MR. VIRA RAGHAVA: Portrait and Sketch of Life	65, 66
CONGRESS AND THE AGE OF CONSENT (A. O. Hume)	67
FRIENDS OF INDIA FIFTY YEARS AGO	87
INDIA'S CLAIMS ON ENGLAND	69
INDIAN COUNCILS' REFORM: Important Speech in Favour, by J. M. Maclean, M.P.	68, 69
IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT AND INDIA: Magazine Rifle, Indian Hospital Corps, East India Officers' Bill, A Model Anglo-Indian sub-Judge, Salt Industry in Burma (71); Detention and Deportation without Trial, Ventilation of Indian Grievances: Speeches by Sir W. Plowden (72), Sir J. Gorst, Sir W. Harcourt, Sir R. Temple (73), Sir G. Campbell, Sir R. Fowler, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Conybeare (74), Mr. Swift MacNiell, Mr. W. H. Smith (75); The Presidency Armies: Speeches by Mr. Buchanan (76), Sir J. Gorst (89), Mr. Campbell-Bannerman (90), Sir R. Temple, Mr. Munro-Ferguson (91), Sir W. Plowden, Mr. Stanhope (92), Sir Geo. Campbell, Mr. Buchanan (93); Opium Traffic, State Rack-Renting, Indian Factory Legislation (93); Sheik Abdul Rasoul's Case, Ex-Sultan Abdullah, Disturbances at Cambay, Factory Commission Hours of Labour in India, Indian Factories Act, Public Works Department (94); Assam-Chittagong Railway	71-95
NOTES	66
LEADING ARTICLES: BRITISH RULE IN INDIA:	
I.—Rack-renting	85
II.—Freedom of the Subject	86
OUR COLOURED DIAGRAMS	87
MISSIONARIES, AN EXAMPLE FOR INDIAN	87
VICEROY, THE, AND THE CONGRESS (Correspondence)	85

M. VIRA RAGHAVA CHARRIAR, ESQ.,

HON. SECRETARY, MADRAS STANDING CONGRESS COMMITTEE, CO-EDITOR, AND GENERAL MANAGER, OF THE "HINDU" DAILY NEWSPAPER.

THERE is, probably, no better-known man among the thirty millions of the Southern Indian population than M. Vira Raghava Charriar. There is no one who more deserves, by virtue of the work he has done and is doing, to be so well-known. Whether it be in connection with the Congress or with the *Hindu*, his record is of the most honourable character, and by every-one with whom he is brought into contact he is regarded with esteem and admiration. To the writer of this sketch of a most worthy Hindu public man, Mr. W. S. Caine, since his recent return from India, has spoken in the highest possible terms of Mr. Charriar. Mr. Caine was impressed with the tact, energy, and business ability displayed by that gentleman in regard to everything to which he put his hand.

Of Mr. Vira Raghava Charriar it may be truly said that, from his first entrance on manhood's stage to the present day, he has employed his energies and talents in the cause of the common weal, deriving happiness and satisfaction for him-self in the amelioration and the elevation of the hard lot of his fellows. This is his praiseworthy ambition, and to its attainment he has dedicated himself. In this noble and patriotic mission he possesses the best of coadjutors in Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar, M.A., Editor of the *Hindu*, with whom he was associated from an early period of his life. Their tasks, their ambitions, their talents and capacities were one and the same, and fitted them eminently for the task which they had proposed to themselves, and which they have so successfully since performed. To their superabundant energies, to their thoughtful exertions, Madras owes a great deal of its renown for moderation in political and social reform, for organized action, and sagacity in public affairs.

Mr. Vira Raghava Charriar was born in 1857, in a small village in the Chingleput District, the district in which the city of Madras is situated. He belongs to the Tengalai sect of Iyengar Brahmins. He comes of a family whose occupation for generations has been either agricultural or Government Service, or both. His grandfather lived in Chingleput, and held for several years a position in the District Court. He wielded great influence, and enjoyed the respect and esteem of successive judges of the Court. Subsequently his son, Sreenivasa Raghava Charriar, father of the subject of our sketch, succeeded not only to the paternal estates but to the official situation, after having worked at his father's desk in the District Court of Chingleput during his father's lifetime. By his mother's side, Vira Raghava Charriar descends from a similarly-circumstanced family.

While yet young Vira Raghava Charriar was sent to a village school, where he was taught Tamil and Sanskrit. After remaining there for some time, he was removed to

Chingleput town for his education. He still continued and completed his vernacular studies, whereupon his father sent him to a local English school kept by missionaries. Even at that early age the young Tamil's intelligence and industry were seen in the rapid progress he made in his studies. He soon rose to the top of his class, while his conduct was such as to win for him the love and admiration of his teachers.

After completing his elementary studies in Chingleput, Vira Raghava proceeded to Madras, where, after remaining a year in the Government Normal School, he joined the Presidency College, then under the control of Mr. Thompson, for further study. Prosecuting his studies with vigour, he passed through the curriculum in 1877, the great famine year. It was while at the Presidency College that he came to know Mr. Subramania Aiyar; the College friendship ripened into the most cordial intimacy and in combined earnest devotion to the good of the community. They both joined the Triplicane Literary Society, where they speedily attained a noteworthy position as debaters and in other respects. Still working hand-in-hand, as if, says an enthusiastic and devout friend, by a decree of Providence, their association continued, for they both obtained positions on the staff of Pachiappayah's College as teachers. It was about this time that definite objects of general usefulness began to present themselves to the minds of our friends; they formed projects which it is a matter of pride to them to know they have carried to success. Hindu journalism in Southern India was in its infancy when the *Hindu* was started in 1877 by Messrs. Vira Raghava Charriar and Subramania Aiyar, with three other parties. As time passed all gave up their connection with the paper except Mr. Vira Raghava Charriar and Mr. Subramania Aiyar. By their zeal, their perseverance, their moderation, and their capacity, these gentlemen soon made the paper a power in the land. With the growth of public opinion in Southern India, a growth which owed much to their care and nurture, the *Hindu* by gradual steps grew from a weekly to a tri-weekly, and from a tri-weekly to a daily. The progressive prosperity of this journal tells its own tale of the steadfast purpose of the proprietors who fought their way bravely through the many difficulties incident to newspaper establishment everywhere, but nowhere to a greater extent than in India.

Mr. Vira Raghava Charriar is not only a journalist and business manager; he is a politician in the best sense of that much-abused term. With almost all the political associations in the Presidency of Madras he is intimately connected. Early in 1884 the Mahajana Sabha was established. It consists of a central society in the capital and several branches in the mofussil. Mr. Vira Raghava Charriar is Joint Secretary, with Rao Bahadur P. Anunda Charlu, of this organization. The Sabha is to the Presidency of Madras what the British Indian Association is to Bengal, and what the Congress is to the whole of India. Its establishment in 1884, a year before the first meeting of the Congress was held in Bombay, undoubtedly has had something to do with the admirable part the Madras contingent has always played in the affairs of the great National institution. Finally, in our record of service, we must mention that Mr. Vira Raghava Charriar is the Secretary to the Madras Committee of the Congress. His labours in this connection need no recital. All India knows of the admirable arrangements made when the Madras Congress was held in 1887, and the excellent organization throughout the Presidency which has placed Madras in the very forefront of the Presidencies and Provinces of the Empire. Only those who have worked with him know how much of the success is due to the large capacity for work and the unfailing good humour and energy of the Secretary of the Madras Standing Congress Committee.

Mr. Vira Raghava Charriar is yet in the prime of early manhood, and it may be hoped, judging from the excellent work he has already done, that he is destined to become a potent factor in the regeneration and uplifting of the Tamil race. Should there be a friendly contest for supremacy in all that is best in ensuring a nation's welfare between various divisions and races in India, we are quite satisfied that Mr. Vira Raghava Charriar and Tamils of his stamp will well maintain the Dravidian character and carry the Dravidian standard as far forward as the Aryan flag may be borne.

NOTES.

Mr. G. W. Medley, in a Cobden Club leaflet, ... "The progress of Free-trading India is the astonish... of the world." The Cobden Club leaflets are generally ... so sound a character and of such great service to clea... thinking and right action, that it is more than a pity so unfounded and inaccurate an assertion should be made, especially by one who has written so well on economic topics as has Mr. Medley. If Mr. Medley had said, "The progress of the British traders and merchants who have dealings with India is the astonishment of the world", he would have been nearer the truth than he is in what he has actually said. Indeed, he is egregiously wrong in asserting that India has become prosperous in, and through, the trade of that country with the outer world. At great length it was shown in our issue of January 16th that five-sixths of the trade of India is in the hands of foreigners by whose capital it is supported and who obtain all the profits derivable from that trade. There is no need that we should repeat here what has already been set forth at great length, and we merely remark that the advantage of the expanding trade of India has been Britain's while India has suffered grave disadvantage, nay, has become poverty-stricken to a terrible degree. Mr. Medley would, probably, hail with satisfaction the growth of the petroleum trade of America and Southern Russia with India. This is how that trade is regarded by a writer in the *Khichri Samachar*, an Anglo-vernacular paper published at Mirzapur, Bengal. The consumption of this imported oil "has put down, not to a less extent, the native industry of oil manufacture from the vegetable products of the land, and has thus considerably diminished the agricultural and commercial wealth of the country. Thousands of labourers and hundreds of oil-factors have been compelled to be out of service, and, giving up their employment, seek some new pursuit which, in a majority of cases, did not at all prove as lucrative as the former". This is an admirable instance of the kind of thing which has gone on in nearly every direction in India. The saving to the consumer is not due compensation for the harm done by the pressing upon the already too-crowded soil of India oil-producers and oil-manufacturers.

Mr. C. E. Schwann, M.P., and Mrs. Schwann, reached England, on their return from a prolonged tour in India and Ceylon, on the 23rd February. Probably few visits made by an English lady and gentleman have given more personal pleasure to so many of our Indian fellow-subjects than has the visit of Mr. and Mrs. Schwann. Penetrated by the best of feelings towards the Indian people and full of sympathy with them in their aspirations, Mr. and Mrs. Schwann have, by the kindly interest they have taken in political and social reforms, endeared themselves to a multitude of Indians of all races. It is in the power of Mr. Schwann as a legislator to do good and great service for India, and we have no doubt he will fully act up to his opportunities. He has joined the British Committee of the Indian National Congress.

Deaths in India from snake-bites, from man-eating tigers, and death-treading wild elephants have formed the subject of a lucid leader in a recent issue of the *Scotsman*. The Edinburgh paper concludes its observations as follows: "On the whole the prospects of sport in the jungle have not greatly diminished either for man or for man-eater. Captain Moray Brown, indeed, contends that some of the rules and methods of forest conservancy are of such a nature that they unnecessarily foster the larger carnivora, at the expense of the persons and herds of the natives who dwell in the vicinity. It is important to conserve the forests; it may be important to conserve opportunities of sport for Indian officials and their guests. But obviously the protection of our Indian fellow-subjects from the danger of forming the supper of a hungry tiger is a still plainer and more urgent duty. Regulations that make these coverts of wild beasts the private preserves of forest officers and their friends, and by closing them strictly against invasion by outsiders deprive the native of his shikari skill, while increasing the multitude of his four-footed or creeping enemies ought to

be relaxed to accord with reason and humanity. Captain Moray Brown advocates as a means of disseminating information and checking the deaths from snake-bite that 'life-sized painted clay models' of the more venomous of the serpent tribe of India should be displayed in some public place in every village, and the appointment of specialists in natural history to make a thorough investigation of the subject upon the spot, and to report upon the best course to be adopted in development of, or in substitution for, the system of rewards. These proposals may not be very promising, but they are at least worth considering. They may not go far in diminishing mortality; for snakes and snake-bites will continue so long as there are Indian jungles and Indian ignorance and superstition. But they might help, with other means to modify the heavy loss and discredit involved in the fact that the beneficent fruits of British rule in India do not include the reduction of the number of men and of cattle that fall annually under the deadly fangs of the snake and cruel claws of the tiger."

MR. CAINE'S RETURN TO ENGLAND.

A HEARTY WELCOME BY THE NATIONAL TEMPERANCE LEAGUE.

A WELCOME home to Mr. W. S. Caine on his return from India was given on the 24th ult., at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, by the Committee of the National Temperance League, and was well attended, despite the discouraging state of the weather, the weather being very foggy and cold.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH, M.P., presided, and in opening the meeting said the object of Mr. Caine's visits to India, of which the last was the third, was to watch the carrying out of the resolution passed two years ago by the House of Commons condemning the policy of the Indian Government in encouraging the opening of drink shops for revenue purposes. But the Indian Government, pressed as they were by a failing revenue, required to be carefully looked after, and the goal they had before them was the extension of local option to India, which would enable the people to make their country what it was by religion a land of teetotallers.

Mr. CAINE, who was very warmly received, said it was only three years since they had founded the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, when in Mr. Samuel Smith's drawing-room a few friends subscribed £1,000 to carry on the good work. Since then they had succeeded in perceptibly checking the increasing sale of liquor, and had obtained what was practically an acknowledgment of the right of the people of India to local option. The sale of liquor under the Government system had nearly doubled in the ten years between 1879 and 1889, and while only 5 per cent. of the people drank twenty years ago, 15 to 20 per cent. had acquired the habit now. Every one in India except the officials protested against this traffic, tea planters, indigo planters, and natives. In Darjeeling 192 out of 194 tea planters signed a protest against the opening of drink shops, but it was all useless until the House of Commons condemned the system. They were told theirs was a snap division, and this in the face of the fact that the Government issued a three-line whip against them, and that they were heartily abused by their opponents; but they did not mind this when they remembered that the result of the motion was that last year 7,093 liquor shops were closed in Madras, and 3,000 more were to be closed during the present year—nearly a fourth of the whole. (Cheers.) Better still, the Government officials were instructed to ascertain the local sentiment in future before issuing a licence. If this instruction were carried out faithfully every liquor shop would vanish speedily from every town between the Himalayas and Cape Comorin.

Dr. RICHARDSON proposed a resolution welcoming Mr. Caine back, wishing him success, and thanking him for his address. This was seconded by Sir Wilfrid Lawson.

The resolution, supported by Mr. John Taylor, was then carried, the proceedings terminating with a vote of thanks to the chairman.

THE CONGRESS AND THE AGE OF CONSENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE [CALCUTTA] "STATESMAN."

SIR,—I desire to say a few words about the Age of Consent Bill, the more so that the *Englishman* appears to be hopelessly muddled as to the position of parties where this measure is concerned.

The *Englishman* practically announces, as if it were a novel discovery of his own, that people who are opposed to the raising of the age of consent, are unworthy to enjoy those privileges for which the Congress has been praying. But this is exactly what four-fifths of the Congress party throughout India have been saying, and, for my part, if I had not been able to satisfy myself that the great majority of the party, taking the empire as a whole, was favourable to the change, I would have resigned the General Secretaryship and washed my hands of the entire party. I will do anything and everything for India, serve her as her humblest servant, but it must be *per fas* and not *per nefas*.

As a fact the Congress party, as a party, are grieved that any wing of theirs, however small, should have placed itself in opposition to this much-needed reform, *for which we, the great majority of the Congress party, memorialized Government from our Social Conference at Bombay only one year ago.*

In Calcutta certain most objectionable social customs obtain, which I defy any decent, educated Bengali gentleman to defend. This raising of the age of consent will interfere with these regrettable customs. Most of the really good men are very glad that this should be so—a few who know, or think, that their womenkind will not abandon these, and who are not masters in their own houses, oppose the change. As one of the most eminent amongst them told me—"We don't want our mothers and aunts and other elderly female relatives to be placed in the position of aiders, abettors, and accessories before the fact in a felony!"

Again, a few, who hate these customs, and will not tolerate them in their own houses, yet oppose the Bill because, say they, these are social and *quasi*-religious customs, with which the Legislature should not interfere, but should leave to be dealt with by the growing good sense and good feeling of the community. Now *Suttee* and *Thuggee* were both social and *quasi*-religious customs, and by a parity of reasoning the Legislature ought not to have interfered with *them*!

But, say they, these latter involved a palpable crime against the community, and it seems impossible to drive it into their heads that the social custom that leads to the violation of girls under 12 years of age, premature conception, and degeneracy of offspring, is equally a palpable crime—a crime against the unhappy sufferers and a frightful crime against the community. For in what has the community a higher, deeper, more unvarying interest than in the rising generation, that generation that is to fill their places, and inherit the fruit of all their labours and all their sacrifices for the national good? If any custom tends to the physical, mental, and moral stunting of that coming generation—and this the early violation of girls and premature motherhood indisputably does—is not this a crime, one of the worst crimes conceivable, against the community, and shall we not put down such a custom by legislation, the moment that, as now, the sense of all that is best and noblest in the nation realises that it *is* a crime and approves its suppression?

Besides these two small classes of respectable opponents of the measure there is a considerable rabble, of more or less noisy denouncers of the Bill, who seek to pose as upholders of Hinduism, and make cap tal for themselves, out of antagonism to this measure. No one respects—no sensible men are misled by—these persons; they look back at the whole careers of these would-be champions of what is a disgrace to their nation, and they say *Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus is tis!*

Lastly, I wish to make it clear that this opposition to the Bill is almost exclusively confined to Lower Bengal. Elsewhere fo one man who would vote ag inst it, ten would vote for it. No doubt the great m jority of these are perfectly indifferent to the matter, because in all the best families, everywhere but in Lower Bengal, no one ever dreams of allowing marriages to be *consummated* before the girls attain the age of 12 years *at least*; and one eminent man, who I hope will write in his own name, and whose character and orthodoxy no one can question, writes to me that in his family it has never been allowed till the girls were between 13 and 14.

But though on this account, there is no enthusiasm and no excitement about the matter, these men would all, if it were necessary, come forward to support the measure. As it is, even in Calcutta, a memo ial in favour of the Bill is in progress of signature, *and will be signed by all who respect themselves and really have at heart the credit of their nation*, and I can only recommend the respectable members of the opposition to look ahead a little, and try and realise the comments that their own grandsons will make upon their conduct, and desist from taking part in a contest against the inevitable, in a contest which can only bring discredit on their heads, on their hearts, and on their countrymen, whom they are supposed to represent—

Yours, &c., A. O. HUME.

Calcutta, Jan. 25.

P.S.—I write this, of course, in my private capacity, and not as General Secretary to the Congress.—A. O. H.

INDIAN COUNCILS' REFORM.

IMPORTANT SPEECH BY MR. J. M. MACLEAN, M.P., IN SUPPORT OF ELECTIVE MEMBERS IN INDIAN COUNCILS.

In the House of Commons when the Government Indian Councils' Bill was read a second time,

Mr. J. M. MACLEAN, M.P. for Oldham, and previously editor of the *Bombay Gazette* and member of the Bombay Municipality, spoke in cordial support of the amendment condemning the Government for introducing a Bill of this character and making no provision in it for the elective element. In the course of his speech the hon. gentleman said: [The Government of India introduces into its Council measures of class taxation, and goes on with them because it has no means of learning the real state of public feeling in Madras and Bombay regarding them, there being no representatives of these Presidencies in the Viceroy's Council, and

THE LOCAL COUNCILS BEING MERE RECORDING CHAMBERS FOR THE VICEROY'S DECREES.

It is the duty of the House of Commons to effect such alterations in the Indian Councils' Act as will enable the Viceroy to enjoy the advantage of having all taxation Bills discussed by a Council containing

DULY ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES

of those great cities which are the centres of intelligence, wealth, and industrial enterprise in the various provinces of Her Majesty's Indian Empire.] It will be seen that I am not in favour of the ignorant agriculturists having votes. I congratulate my hon. friend the mover of the amendment on the wise framing of his proposal, which is of a general character, and leaves it to the Indian authorities to frame the constituencies which would be established once the elective principle was accepted. I hope intelligence, wealth, and industrial enterprise will be granted a predominant position in any franchise scheme which may be devised.

An HON. MEMBER, from a bench behind Mr. Maclean, rose to ask whether he understood the hon. member for Oldham to be supporting the amendment moved from the other side of the House. He (the hon. member) thought the member for Oldham had an amendment on the paper declaring that the Government were to be congratulated on not having introduced the elective principle into the Bill, and urging that any system of electoral representation in Indian Councils would be inimical to British interests.

Mr. MACLEAN: Mr. Speaker, I resent, so far as I understand, the interruption of the hon. gentleman behind me. I fail to see the point of his interruption. As I have said, I rise to support the proposal which comes from the opposite side of the House. I would have the hon. gentleman who interrupted me to understand that I do not recognise the remarks he has chosen to father upon me as to electoral representation in Indian Councils being inimical to British interests. Such an amendment, if it bears my name, must be the work of some mischievous member of this House of whose conduct I beg that proper notice may be taken. I cannot be responsible for such an amendment. During the many years I spent in India, I always advocated electoral representation in the Legislative Councils. I can appeal, for confirmation thereof, to the speeches I made in Bombay, to the leading articles which appeared in my paper. What I have already said is, in almost identical terms, what appeared in a memorial to this House, from an immense meeting held in Bombay in February 1878, an indignation meeting in fact. It became an indignation meeting, because the hon. baronet, the member for Evesham, then

GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY, REFUSED TO THE CITIZENS THE USE OF THE TOWN HALL,

which was erected from taxes paid by them. Perhaps, the hon. baronet, if—as is sure to be the case—he takes part in this debate, will explain why he acted in so arbitrary and despotic a manner. I have freely used the language of the memorial, for I may, without being thought guilty of undue egotism—I do not deny some egotism—say that I was the author of the more forcible passages in that memorial. The further arguments with which I shall press upon this House, arguments which I hope will induce it to accept the amendment of my hon. friend opposite, are those which I employed at the meeting in 1878 to which I have referred. Those arguments commended themselves to my fellow-citizens in Bombay thirteen years ago, and I was loudly applauded for uttering them. To me, everying that has happened in India since then, confirms the value and adds to the importance of what I said thirteen years ago. The Indian people are, in my opinion, right in looking to Parliament for redress, instead of going to the local administrations, or even to the supreme Government. They feel, as I myself have felt on many occasions, the hopelessness of attempting to get redress for their grievances from the Indian Government. Since I have returned to England, and have had the honour of a seat in this House, my attention has been so much taken up with the interests of my constituents that I have been unable to follow so closely as I could have wished, what is passing from day to day in India. India, however, is an integral part of the "unchangeable East," and if I repeat the exact expressions I used thirteen years ago, substituting Lord Lansdowne's name for Lord Lytton's, and Lord Cross's for Lord Salisbury's—the Conservatives were in office then as now—I am quite satisfied I shall be accurately describing the existing state of things. As all hon. members are aware—my questions of a week or two ago, respecting Indian Factory legislation proves that—[the Secretary of State and the Viceroy are now in such close and constant intercourse by telegraph that the measures introduced there by the Government of India have always as a rule received beforehand the sanction of the Secretary of State, while as for the Local Governments and the Local Councils, they seem to limit their efforts to giving effect to the instructions of the Government of India. (Hear, hear.) Nay, not content with that, they even outdo the Supreme Government. You know that the Viceroy has expressed the greatest desire to have public opinion freely expressed about these financial measures, and that he has made this one of the tests of their goodness, that he thinks they have really been accepted as good by the people of India. Now, the efforts of the Local Government of Bombay have been directed towards keeping the public from expressing any opinion whatever upon the financial policy of the Government of India. (Hear, hear, and applause.) An hon. member has said in his opening speech that he thought this might be an accident, but for my part, I look upon it as only one out of several signs we have had lately that

THE CANKER-WORM OF SERVILITY IS EATING INTO AND DESTROYING THAT NOBLE INDEPENDENCE OF CHARACTER AND CULTIVATED LIBERALITY OF THOUGHT

which were the distinguishing glory of the Indian Civil Service—(hear, hear)—and the true sources of that excellence which we were all of us ready to recognise. It seems to be now the fashion, certainly with officials of the higher rank, to use all their exertions, not to carry out the wishes of the Viceroy as expressed in his public speeches, but to please what they believe to be his secret inclinations, and if Lord] Lansdowne [knew his own interests, I think he might sometimes address to those over-zealous officials, who have vainly tried to stifle public discussion in Bombay, the reproach which King John addressed to Hubert, "It is the curse of kings to be surrounded by slaves who take their humours for a warrant" to do ill deeds. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Since India despairs of getting redress from any branch of the Indian Government, I think they are only doing their duty in appealing to this great assembly which is the inviolable home of free discussion, which spreads its protection over the subjects of the British Empire in all parts of the earth, and from which alone Lord] Lansdowne [and Lord] Cross [themselves derive any authority which they possess. (Loud applause).] I will not weary the House with the many illustrations I have in my mind showing the gross and grievous injustice which our fellow-subjects in India suffer under this system. My speech of 1878 is on record. Any hon. member who is really interested in this question, I am satisfied, will not fail to obtain it from India, or he will go to the London offices of the Bombay daily papers, and obtain full information on this point. I will confine myself to the absolute need which exists for the introduction of the elective element in any reforms of the Indian Councils. [I will, before I sit down, say a few words on the proposal with which the amendment is concerned. In the amendment a great constitutional question has been

raised. I dare say a great many of you have read lately a remarkable letter by Sir Fitzjames Stephen in defence of the Government of India against the late Mr. Bright, in which he said that English rule in India must be based on force and justice. We must all recognise the accuracy of that definition. We who have lived in India have seen the force every day, and we know that it is very strong. We can also readily admit that the administration of justice in the Courts of that country is probably all that could be desired—that equality of all men before the law is secured, and that their lives and property are properly protected by the laws of India. But in the broader and political sense of the term, justice requires, with regard to the taxation of the people, that it should be so adjusted as to be consistent with the enlightened principles of modern commercial legislation, and proportionate to the capacities of the several classes of the population. You can only secure that end by

GIVING SOME KIND OF REPRESENTATION IN THE COUNCIL OF THE VICEROY TO THE VARIOUS INTERESTS EXISTING IN THE COUNTRY.

There is no such representation at present, and I do not think that in the present state of India it would be desirable to have a number of separate Councils with representatives in them.] So far as that goes I am slightly out of sympathy with the mover of the amendment, who wishes to have elected members in all the Councils. His amendment, however, does not expressly state this. [But the principle is in theory acknowledged; for the Viceroy of thirteen years ago spoke of the representatives of all classes of the community in the Legislative Council of India. All that we who favour this amendment ask, then, is that this theory should be carried into practice, and that the great centres of wealth, intelligence, and industry of the country should be allowed to send representatives to the Legislative Council of the Empire to discuss bills of taxation, and to enable the governing class to know what the wishes and the interests of the people really are. (Applause.) When I was in this country in 1876, I mentioned this idea to a very high official connected with the Government of India, and he said, "Oh, you are only wishing to imitate what was done with the Orangemen in Ireland—a very bad precedent indeed"; but I replied at once that

THE ENGLISH NON-OFFICIALS OF INDIA DID NOT WISH FOR ANY EXCLUSIVE RIGHTS

beyond those that

THEY WERE PREPARED TO CONCEDE FREELY TO THE NATIVES

in the great Anglicised cities of the Empire, and that

ALL THAT WE CLAIM FOR OURSELVES WE CLAIMED ON THEIR BEHALF ALSO.

(Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, I think that this change in the constitution of the Indian Government would have a very beneficial effect on the whole community. It would make life in India much more healthful. Officials often say to] residents in India, ["Well, what have you non-officials to do with the Government of the country, you are here to-day and gone to-morrow; why should you trouble yourself about it?" Now, I fully acknowledge that non-officials of India, like a good many officials, perhaps look generally too wistfully towards the West, and consider themselves only temporary sojourners there; but the way to alter that in their case would be to enable them to live something better than maimed lives in India, not to deprive them of the birthright of Englishmen, of all interest in the political institutions of the country.

THERE IS NOTHING THAT IS SO BENEFICIAL TO THE PEOPLE AS POLITICAL DISCUSSION.

It is the highest kind of education. I do not know that anything that has been done in England in modern times has helped so distinctly the progress of political intelligence, and political capacity throughout the whole country as the commanding and stimulating influence of the late Mr. Bright's speeches. No doubt that is a rare gift; nobody can hope to possess such a gift in India. But], as I said in my Indian speech in 1878, [as sometimes in certain countries you see monuments placed to commemorate some memorable event, which are composed of stones cast there by each passing wayfarer, so each one of us may hope to do something in his way to increase the political enlightenment of India, and if he does so by helping free discussion in this country, he does as good a work as if he were a missionary or a schoolmaster. (Applause.) But,

SUCH A CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION WOULD BE BENEFICIAL, NOT ONLY TO THE PEOPLE BUT TO THE GOVERNMENT;

it would prevent the Government from following the course on which it has now entered of making the official class an exclusive class as it were, possessing all influence, all authority, all honour, and social position out there, and now, as it were, exempting themselves even from contributing towards their own support. (Hear, hear, and applause.) It would give the Government that strength which is born of sympathy and good-will between the governed and the governing classes. Such a support no Government is strong enough to dispense with, and without it all the state and ceremony, all the pomp and magnificence with which you may surround an Imperial Throne are but as "a gilded halo hovering round decay." (Loud applause.)] Sir, it is because I cherish these views, because I have held those views throughout the whole of my public career that I am proud, in this House and on this occasion, to render to the whole people of India, whose affection I cherish, and to a land to which I owe so much, the humble service which I have tried to perform in supporting the amendment which I hope the House will accept. (Loud cheers.)

The speech of the hon. member was listened to with much interest by a House which became crowded as soon as it was known that the hon. member was exhibiting, what, perhaps, is so rare in politics, (1) consistency to long-cherished beliefs, and (2) an ardent desire to do justice to our Indian fellow-subjects. It goes without saying that the speech caused not a little commotion on the Government benches. But, on the whole, it was the most striking success which can be placed to the hon. member's credit as a Parliamentarian.

[We may state that the actual words used by the hon. member in his '78 speech, quoted above, are enclosed in brackets, with the exception of the obvious alteration of "resolution" into "amendment," and the like.]

No doubt Mr. Maclean *ought* to deliver some such speech as that recorded above. But, will he? Hardly, considering that the following amendment stands in his name on the Order paper of the House of Commons:—

(*Mr. James Maclean*)—"As amendments to Mr. Walter M'Laren's motion on second reading of Indian Councils' Act (1861) Amendment (No. 2) Bill:

"Line 2, leave out 'regret,' and insert 'satisfaction.'

"Line 5, at end, add 'which is unsuited to the character of the native population, and would be injurious to the interests of English rule in India.'"

INDIA'S CLAIMS ON ENGLAND.

Under the auspices of the Hull Women's Liberal Association Mr. Harkishen Lal, B.A., delivered a lecture on "India's Claims on England." Miss Bremner occupied the chair. In the course of his lecture Mr. Harkishen Lal, speaking of the British rule, said that the English went to India as traders, their example being followed by Holland, Portugal, and France, who characteristically had great conceptions, and failed to carry them out. English rule, he said, had brought to the front several problems, the solution of which would tax the wisest and best. Indians were acute and thoughtful in religious matters, and endeavoured to live the life of the spirit, whereas in the West they attempted to conquer matter. Before the conquest of India by England, the Indians had their own arts, weaving, and agriculture; but the trade of the country had been revolutionised by its contact with England and its machine-produced manufactures. The lecturer pointed out that the position of women was very different in India and in England, and he thought that it was only a question of education, as education would effect the whole range of society—especially the problem of child-marriage and widow re-marriage. In 1885 the Government passed a law making widow re-marriages legal, and the children of such marriages legitimate, but that law was not taken much advantage of, the widows themselves not desiring re-marriage. Indian opinion was generally favourable to female education, and, in this respect, contrasted very favourably with that of some Englishmen, and he pointed out that at the last National Congress, held in December, 1890, 25 women delegates were present. The dissolution of caste, in his opinion, was one of India's hardest problems, but it was not yet in the field of practical politics, connected as it was with the question of religion—wherein a revolution was pending.—A short discussion took place at the close of the lecture, and a hearty vote of thanks was accorded Mr. Harkishen Lal.—*Eastern Morning News*, Feb. 11.

MR. BRADLAUGH'S DEATH.

MEETING OF INDIANS.

A meeting of Indians of all classes resident in Great Britain was held on February 12th, at the National Liberal Club, for the purpose of offering condolence to Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner on the loss sustained by her and the country in the death of the late hon. member for Northampton. The chair was occupied by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. In opening the proceedings,

The CHAIRMAN (Parsee) said that letters had been received from twenty-one gentlemen in Cambridge expressing regret at their inability to attend and deep sympathy with the object of the meeting; and a telegram of similar purport had been sent by a number of Indian gentlemen residing at Oxford, besides other communications of the same character. For himself he was able to speak from personal experience of Mr. Bradlaugh, and there was probably no one present who could feel his loss so intensely. Having for some years taken his share of labour in reference to Indian public questions, he knew what an uphill work it was, and how difficult it was to arouse the interest of the British public in those questions, and to get English gentlemen to take a part in them. He was often brought into personal contact with Mr. Bradlaugh. It might be thought by some that he had taken up Indian questions only yesterday: but it was not so. A year or two before he had publicly taken up the subject of India he had written to him (the Chairman) asking him to call upon him and talk over Indian questions. He readily responded to the invitation, and was greatly surprised to find how well acquainted Mr. Bradlaugh was with Indian subjects. On the occasion of their interview Mr. Bradlaugh asked him for a memorandum of the most important Indian questions and his own opinion respecting them. The truth was that Mr. Bradlaugh never took up a subject that he did not thoroughly study before taking action upon it. Knowing how assiduously he had worked, he felt as perhaps few others could feel, the magnitude of the loss which the country had sustained in his death. He knew of no one who could fill his place. The present was, he thought, a fitting occasion for expressing their deep sorrow for the great loss suffered by England, and the still greater loss suffered by India.

Mr. HARI KISHEN LAL (Hindu) then moved the following Resolution:—

"That we, Indians resident in the United Kingdom, express our condolence with Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner in the sad bereavement she has sustained by the death of her lamented father Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P."

The loss, he said, was not only to Mrs. Bonner and to the country, but to humanity itself. When at college in 1881-4 he and his fellow students studied Mr. Bradlaugh's works, and while they did not necessarily accept him as a guide in religious or social matters, they sympathised with his political convictions, and endeavoured to follow in the footsteps of one whose life was so honest, energetic, and philanthropic. He had already done a great deal for his own country and for India, and it was almost impossible to say what he would have accomplished if he had been spared a few more years. In view of the religious disadvantages under which he laboured, and the other difficulties which he had to encounter, it was marvellous that he had been able to do so much. He had set his countrymen a noble example and had exhibited all the qualities of a true hero. (Applause.)

Mr. M. HAQUE (Muhammadan), in seconding the motion, alluded to Mr. Bradlaugh's early struggles in Parliament and his ultimate triumph. Apart from the controversial matters of the Congress he was a true friend of India, and was always ready to espouse a just cause and fight against every form of oppression and injustice, taking the part of prince or pauper alike. In the House of Commons especially he never lost an opportunity of dinning into the ears of the Under-Secretary for India the necessity of doing something for that country.

Mr. J. P. PADSHAH (Parsee) supported the motion, and enforced the lessons to be learned from Mr. Bradlaugh's life, especially in reference to the qualities of honesty, industry, and earnestness which it so conspicuously displayed.

The motion was unanimously adodpted.

Mr. S. H. IMAM (Muhammadan) moved:—

"That we, Indians resident in the United Kingdom, recognize and desire to place on record the deep gratitude of the whole Indian people for the eminent services rendered to our country by the late Mr. Bradlaugh, who in many ways proved himself to be the champion of the weak and helpless, and was ever solicitous for the welfare of the Indian people alike political, social, and economical, and ever strenuous in his efforts, both in Parliament and in the country, in endeavouring to serve the best interests of his fellow subjects."

He said that as a Muhammadan and as an Indian, and as one who truly respected and admired their deceased friend, he moved the resolution with great pleasure, and only wished that he could pay a fitting tribute to the memory of the brave, honest, noble-minded, and justice-loving Charles Bradlaugh. He had nobly taken up the work which Mr. Fawcett had begun, and, by his great courage, his unrivalled energy, and his unsurpassed earnestness, had shown them the glimmering light of a better and a happier future, and brought them to the very portals of a reformed legislature. The Iconoclast had demolished the temple figures of high-handedness and oppression. But alas! before his mission was accomplished he was snatched away; and the most touching spectacle was now presented that human circumstances could produce—the spectacle of grateful hearts mourning a great national benefactor. (Applause.)

Mr. M. P. MODI seconded the motion. Mr. Bradlaugh, he said, was a man whose hands were always full, and his power of work was almost boundless. He was recognised throughout England as one of the most earnest and independent members of Parliament; and, in spite of the prejudices that were formerly arrayed against him, he had succeeded in acquiring a personal prestige in the House which few men had ever possessed. India deeply mourned his loss; and it had to console itself with the reflection that its concerns would in future receive through his past labours greater attention than would otherwise be bestowed upon them.

The resolution was then briefly supported by Mr. CHATTERJI and Mr. ROY (Hindus).

Mr. MARTIN WOOD also supported it, and expressed the satisfaction which he felt in seeing so many Indians uniting to do honour to the memory of Mr. Bradlaugh. It was a good augury for the future of India to find the representatives of all classes and creeds combining for the furtherance of a common object. The peculiarity of Mr. Bradlaugh's claims upon their regard was that while his predecessors, Mr. Dickenson and Mr. Fawcett, were men of some means, he possessed none, and had to struggle with fortune, and often found it difficult to obtain the means of living from day to day. That consideration ought certainly to emphasize the gratitude due to him from his country. He (Mr. Wood) wished to take that opportunity of suggesting that steps should be taken to revive the Indian Society as a means of taking common and united action in behalf of all Indians whenever it might be necessary to do so. If it could be recognised it might render great service in the promotion of Indian interests.

The motion was unanimously adopted.

Mr. MUKERJI (Hindu) referred to the absence of a register of Indians residing in the United Kingdom. He and Mr. Digby had talked the matter over; but he did not know that any such register existed. If all Indian residents could have been invited to Mr. Bradlaugh's funeral, and had all gone to the grave, an imposing spectacle would have been presented to Englishmen which they would not easily have forgotten. Time was obliterating the landmarks of England's greatness, but neither time nor eternity would ever silt up the channels of sympathy within them so long as Indian blood flowed in their veins. Mr. Mukerji moved:

"That we, Indians resident in the United Kingdom, sincerely sympathize with the electors of Northampton on the death of their late energetic and conscientious parliamentary representative, and beg to express the indebtedness of the whole Indian people to them in not only permitting him to interest himself in Indian affairs, but approving all that he did for India."

The resolution was seconded by Mr. GHAMAT, supported by Mr. SHAH (Parsee) and Mr. SULEIMAN (Muhammadan), and unanimously adopted.

On the motion of Mr. MOHUN LALL (Hindu), seconded by Mr. RAMCHANDRA (Hindu), the Chairman was requested to communicate the resolutions to Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner and to the Chairman of the Northampton Liberal Association.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for presiding brought the proceedings to a close.

Mrs. Bradlaugh Bonner, writing to Mr. Naoroji, says:—"I beg most sincerely to thank you and those with you for the Resolutions passed at the National Liberal Club on Thursday week."

ONE OF MR. BRADLAUGH'S GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS.

Few more fascinating and instructive chapters of English municipal history have of late been opened to us than those which are written in the massy volumes that record the labours of the Markets Commission. The whole of this remarkable work, opening with Mr. Elton's and Mr. Costelloe's brilliant examination of fair and market charters, and concluding with the Commissioners' lucid summing up of the vast body of evidence submitted to them, is a monument to the skill and knowledge of one dead man. Mr. Bradlaugh made the Commission; he furnished it with much of its most valuable material; his clear views and vigorous expression of them are plainly written in its Report. Mr. Bradlaugh upheld the sound economic view of "free and open markets"—*i.e.*, markets in which tolls that are half of the nature of *octrois* (such as still exist in old towns like Carlisle), and are wholly of the nature of food taxes—would be abolished, or rather replaced by a simple system of rent or stallage equivalent to the advantage conferred on the stall-holders, which would in most cases cover the actual working expenses of the market. But this is very far from opening the door to a wild proposal to take the control of markets out of the hands of Bedfords and Goldsmids and transfer it to an unknown body of speculative traders. One piece of quaint illogic—if we may coin a word for our purpose—Mr. Bradlaugh would certainly have avoided. He would not have proposed to endow local authorities with market rights in one breath and to divest them of the privilege in the next. Yet this is what the majority of the Commissioners propose to do.—*Speaker*, February 28th.

THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT AND INDIA.

[SPECIALLY REPORTED BY THE "HANSARD" STAFF FOR "INDIA".]

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—FEBRUARY 9.

THE MAGAZINE RIFLE.

Mr. HANBURY (Preston): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, whether he will lay upon the Table any correspondence that has taken place between the Indian and Victorian Governments and the authorities at Home on the subject of the Magazine Rifle; if he can state what royalty, if any, is claimed or paid in connection with Magazine Rifles manufactured by private firms; and, whether such royalty is included in, or is additional to, the stated contract price.

The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. Stanhope, Lincoln, Horncastle): The correspondence between the Indian and the Victorian Governments, and the authorities at home consists only of certain demands, the consideration of which has been postponed. Anybody can see the correspondence. That of the Victorian Government is quite recent, but that of the Indian Government extends over several years. That part of the correspondence which relates to the Magazine Rifle will be placed in the Library where hon. members will be able to see it. Nothing has been paid in connection with Magazine Rifles manufactured by private firms for the Government except in accordance with specific regulations, which I explained to the House last week. Rifles manufactured by private firms, unless by contract, are not Government rifles, and the Government accept no responsibility in connection with them.

Mr. HANBURY: Will the 8*s*. 9*d*. mentioned by the right hon. gentleman last week be added to the price of each rifle?

Mr. E. STANHOPE: No, sir, that is the price charged to the public.

FEBRUARY 10.

THE INDIAN HOSPITAL CORPS.

Sir WALTER FOSTER (Derby, Ilkeston): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether it is the case that the men of the Indian Hospital Corps and bearer companies in war time receive less rations than the Sepoy; are allowed only 10 lbs. weight of kit against 33 lbs. allowed to the Sepoy; are entirely unarmed when in the field; and are rewarded only by a bronze medal while the Sepoy receives a silver one; and, whether anything can be done to remedy these conditions.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The statements contained in the question are substantially correct. The arrangements referred to are made by the military authorities in India, and the Secretary of State sees no ground for interfering with them.

MAGAZINE RIFLES FOR INDIA.

Mr. MARJORIBANKS (Berkshire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether the War Office asked the Indian Government £5 10*s*. apiece for magazine rifles to be supplied to it, or at what price these rifles are now being offered to the Indian Government; and whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the correspondence which has passed between the War Office and the Government of India on this subject; And, whether, before it is "decided what royalty or other payment shall be made in connection" with Mr. Speed's patents affecting the new magazine rifle, an opportunity will be given to this House of expressing its opinion on any such proposed decision.

The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. Stanhope, Lincoln, Horncastle): The Government of India has been asked £5 10*s*. each for magazine rifles. They have obtained two-fifths of their supply from contractors and the remaining two-fifths from Her Majesty's Government at a higher price, which is a rule in regard to contract-made weapons. My answer to the second question of the right hon. gentleman is, that by the Patents Act, 46 and 47 Vict., the responsibility rests with the Treasury of approving patents upon which a royalty shall be charged.

Mr. MARJORIBANKS: Can the right hon. gentleman tell me whether the Government did ask £5 10*s*. each for the rifles supplied by them to India.

Mr. E. STANHOPE: Certainly, sir, I told the right hon. gentleman so the other day. £4 15*s*. was the cost of preparing them (without the bayonet) at the ordnance factories and £4 at the works of the contractor. Two-thirds came from the ordnance factories and one-third from the contractors.

HOUSE OF LORDS.—FEBRUARY 16.

EAST INDIA OFFICERS BILL.

Order of the day for the second reading, read.

The SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Viscount Cross): I have to ask your lordships to give a second reading to this Bill, the object of which is to allow certain high officers of State in India, when it is absolutely necessary on public grounds they should do so, to come home to England for the purpose of consultation without incurring the penalty which at the present moment is cast upon them of losing their commissions or appointments if they leave India for the purpose of coming home. Your lordships will remember at the time of the Jubilee, in 1887, it was suggested that the Duke of Connaught should come over from India for the purpose of being present at the Jubilee, and it was found necessary to introduce a short Act of Parliament to enable him to come, because by the provisions of the old Act, 53 Geo. III. which are now to be found in the Act 3 and 4 Will. IV., it is enacted that the return to Europe or the departure from India with the intent to return to Europe of any Governor-General of India, Governor or Member of Council or Commander-in-Chief, should be deemed in law a resignation or avoidance of his office or employment. In my opinion, it is perfectly right that that Act should have been passed at the time it was passed. Your lordships know as well as I that a journey to India was in those days by no means as easy as it is at the present moment, when passengers from India had to return to England round the Cape, and their absence from their duties must have been necessarily prolonged. It was then necessary to point out to officials that if they meant to keep their appointments they must not leave the duties of their office for the purpose of coming home for their own pleasure in any way. But now the time for which they must be necessarily absent from their duties during their return to England is so greatly reduced that no inconvenience of that kind can take place. The Bill will only confer upon the India Office powers similar to those now enjoyed by the War Office, the Colonial Office, and the Admiralty, with reference to persons holding appointments under those Departments. I would remind your lordships that there is no objection to the Governor of any of the Colonies, or any Commander-in-Chief of forces, either in Canada or elsewhere, returning home; and that the Foreign Office is entitled to call back its officers or Ministers of State for conference. In fact, that has been done by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. As Mr. Childers said in the other House when the Bill in reference to the Duke of Connaught was before it, he had called back the chief naval commander from the China station, and also the chief naval commander from the Pacific station, for the purpose of consultation with him. When the Bill which enabled the Duke of Connaught to come home was before the other House of Parliament, Mr. Childers, who then spoke upon the matter, said he saw no objection to his coming over, and that he would offer no opposition to the Bill provided Government would give a pledge to bring in a general Bill to accomplish his purpose in case of necessity. The leader of the House gave that undertaking, and in pursuance of it, a Bill was brought in during last Session of Parliament, but could not be proceeded with further on account of the state of business. It is that identical Bill to which I am now asking your lordships to give a second reading. I think your lordships will see, upon looking at the provisions of the Bill, that there are ample safeguards to prevent abuse. In the first place it says that, "It shall be lawful for the Governor-General of India in Council" to consent. It would, therefore, be necessary for the request to pass through the Council in India; and it could not come before the Council in India, unless at the request of the Secretary of State for India at home. Then the request can only be made on public grounds; if it is required on public grounds, any of the said officers specified in the Schedule may leave India for the purpose of proceeding to Europe. Therefore, I think your lordships will see there is ample security against abuse; in the first place, the request rests upon the responsibility of the Secretary of State for India here; then it has to pass before the Council of the Governor-General in India; and lastly, it can only be made on public grounds. For those reasons, I venture to ask your lordships to give the Bill a second reading.

Bill read second time (according to order) and committed to a Committee of the whole House on Monday next.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—FEBRUARY 17.

A MODEL ANGLO-INDIAN SUB-JUDGE.

Mr. MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether the Secretary of State for India is aware that Mr. Fordyce, in January 1890, as Sub-Divisional Commissioner of Madhepur, in Bhagolore, committed one Barassur Kundu to trial at sessions, causing him to be kept in custody for three months; that the Sessions Judge, Mr. Badcock, in acquitting the prisoner, commented on the deputy magistrate's "want of common sense in not discharging the accused": whether he is aware that Mr. Fordyce, in May 1890, sentenced a man to three months' imprisonment; that the appeal from this sentence was not heard till the original term of imprisonment had almost expired; and that the District Magistrate, Mr. Marindin, who heard the appeal, ordered the prisoner's release, censuring, at the same time, Mr. Fordyce's "disregard of instructions received from superior judicial authority," and commenting on his unfitness to be entrusted with judicial powers; and, whether the Secretary of State will inquire if Mr. Fordyce is still in the Service, and still entrusted with judicial and magisterial powers.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The Secretary of State has no official information on this subject, but he has reason to believe that Mr. Fordyce has no independent charge, but is under the immediate supervision of superior magistrates.

Mr. MACNEILL: Will the right hon. gentleman answer this question? Is the Anglo-Indian resident magistrate still in the pay of the Government of India?

Sir J. GORST: I cannot tell that.

Mr. MACNEILL: If the right hon. gentleman is unable to say whether Mr. Fordyce, this resident magistrate, is still in the pay of the Indian Government, will he be able to answer the question within a specified time—say before the Indian Budget is discussed.

Sir J. GORST: Oh, yes, sir, I can tell that. Mr. Fordyce is in the pay of the Government of India.

Mr. MACNEILL: And is it intended to continue him in the service of the Indian Government?

Sir J. GORST: No, sir, that I cannot tell without knowing what the intentions of the Government may be.

Mr. MACNEILL: Then I will repeat the question to-morrow.

THE SALT INDUSTRY IN BURMA.

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he will lay upon the Table of this House, particulars of the arrangements now being made in Burma in connection with the salt industry; whether the Excise rates on the local manufacture of salt have been raised to equalise them with the Customs Duty; and, whether he can state the rate of the increase?

Sir J. GORST: The particulars of the arrangements made are to be found in the Burma annual revenue report of which a copy shall be furnished to the hon. member. The excise rates on the local manufacture of salt have been raised to equalise them with the Customs duty. The increase is from three annas to one rupee.

Mr. CONYBEARE: Is that from three annas to one rupee per maund?

Sir J. GORST: Yes.

COLOURED RACES TRADING IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, what steps have been taken with respect to the notices served in July last upon British subjects residing and trading in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, directing them within twelve months to leave those States?

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de Worms, Liverpool, Toxteth): Perhaps I may be allowed to reply to the question. The question of the hon. member refers apparently to the restriction imposed by the laws of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic upon persons belonging to coloured races, whether British Subjects or not. No information has been received as to any order to such persons to leave either of those States; but the Orange Free State law forbids their trading without a special license of which only nine have been issued; and it was decided to withdraw these nine licenses after a year's notice. No action was taken by Her Majesty's Government in regard to the Orange Free State as they have no *locus standi* under treaty in that state which would justify further opposition.

DETENTION AND DEPORTATION OF A BRITISH SUBJECT FROM INDIA.

Mr. CONYBEARE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether it is a fact that a Muhammadan, Sheikh Abdul Rasoul, was apprehended on his arrival in Bombay, on 27th January 1890, by the Police Commissioner of Bombay; whether Sheikh Abdul Rasoul was imprisoned, without trial, and without any statement being made to him as to the reason of his imprisonment, in the Fort of Assirgad, in the Central Provinces, for nine months, and, at the expiration of that period, taken to Bombay, put on board a steamer bound for London against his strong protest, his passage paid, and he landed in England without any means of support; whether, when he was put on board the steamer bound for England, he was told, on the authority of the Government of India, that the India Office was in possession of the facts of his case, and would arrange for him a sufficient allowance; whether the Secretary of State will state why this man was imprisoned for nine months, and kept in custody all that time without trial; whether, under the penal code, the Government have power to imprison parties without trial, and to keep them in prison; and, why Sheikh Abdul Rasoul was shipped to England; what charges the Government of India or the India Office have against him; and why communications which he has addressed to the Secretary of State for India are not acknowledged or answered?

Sir J. GORST: The Secretary of State has no information officially on the matters stated in the question. The Governor-General of India is empowered by Regulation 3 of 1818 to detain persons without trial for reasons of State. The communications addressed by the Sheikh to the Secretary of State have been forwarded to India, and the Secretary of State will await a reply from the Government of India before taking any action thereon.

Mr. CONYBEARE: Upon that answer I should like to ask the right hon. gentleman whether it is customary when communications containing complaints of personal hardship are received by the India Office to return no answer to them? I am informed that this unfortunate Muhammadan has several times communicated to the right hon. gentleman and the India Office, but has not been vouchsafed an answer. Is it not desirable to inform such persons making a complaint that inquiry will be made into the case? Is it the custom of the Viceroy or any other of the authorities in India to kidnap men and allow them to remain for months—in this case it was nine months—in detention, without bringing any charge against them?

Sir J. GORST: That is not at all the custom in India. With regard to the hon. member's question as to the letters, I think it would have been better if they had been answered.

Mr. CONYBEARE: Will the right hon. gentleman undertake that an answer shall be returned to this Muhammadan gentleman, and will he undertake to give a return of all the persons who have been dealt with in a similar manner in India during the last twelve months?

Sir J. GORST: I must have notice of that question.

THE VENTILATION OF INDIAN GRIEVANCES.

Sir W. PLOWDEN (Wolverhampton): Mr. Speaker, in moving "That Standing Order No. 51 be amended by inserting after the words 'Ways and Means' the words 'or the Committee on the Indian Financial Statement'" I do not think it will be necessary for me to trespass very long upon the attention of the House. The object of the motion is very simple: it is to

REPLACE THE HOUSE IN THE POSITION

in regard to debate on matters of general interest in connection with India it was in previous to the passing of the Standing Order No. 51, on the 28th of February, 1888. Standing Order No. 51, which was passed with very little debate and without any opposition, runs thus:—"That whenever an Order of the Day is read for the House to resolve itself into Committee (not being a Committee to consider a message from the Crown, or the Committee of Supply, or of Ways and Means) Mr. Speaker shall leave the chair without putting any question." I propose to insert certain words which will save from this clause the discussion on the Indian Budget. I shall be able to show, first of all, that this alteration in the procedure of the House which took place on the 28th of February, 1888, was altogether unwarranted and uncalled for, secondly that it is useless, and lastly that it is invidious. In regard to the first point it may be satisfactory if I turn for a moment to the debate upon the Rules of Procedure to find what were the objects with which the change in the Standing Order was affected. The objects were briefly stated by the right hon. gentleman the leader of the House. The right hon. gentleman said: "The object of the change is to prevent a repetition of discussion on the principles of a Bill on the motion that you, sir, do leave the chair." "It has been found," he added, "that the motion that you leave the chair is greatly abused, and there is a general agreement that a second reading debate should not occur twice over." I think there are very few members in the House, if indeed there is one, who will take exception to the doctrine laid down by the right hon. gentleman on that occasion. I certainly do not take exception to it, but I think it can very easily be shown that that argument has no application whatever to the alteration of the rule in so far as it regards the discussion of Indian subjects. That can very easily be shown by reference to the history of past years. I also wish to note it would seem from the course of the right hon. gentleman's remarks that it was not specially intended to cover the debate on Indian topics by this change in the Standing Order. Certainly at a subsequent period when it was found that this change had that effect the leader of the House showed distinctly he was of opinion that the discussion of general topics in connection with India should fall within the scope of the change; and that discussion on that occasion should be confined to financial and economical topics. What is the condition of things now that this change has been effected and how does it contrast with the state of things which existed before the change was effected? I have ascertained from the debates of the House all the occasions on which during the ten years preceding 1890 there has been any discussion whatever on Indian topics in the House. The change occurred in 1888, and going back to the seven years before 1888, when it was within the competency of the members of the House to discuss any topic of general interest in connection with India on the motion that you do leave the chair, I find that in those seven years there were two occasions when no advantage whatever was taken of the rule. In five other years advantage was taken of the rule. But what was the effect upon the time of the House? In 1887 there was only one speech made on the question. In 1886 no discussion took place; in 1885 no discussion took place. In the four earlier years there was a discussion. Now, sir, it will be found if you look into the facts of the case that the discussion on those occasions when there was a debate on the question that you do leave the chair was not very prolonged, and that when there was a discussion of this nature, there was practically no discussion on getting into Committee. In 1890 we spent five hours and nineteen minutes in Committee on the East Indian accounts, in 1889 we spent something less than six hours, and in 1888 a little more than seven hours. The longest discussion was in 1885 when we spent very nearly nine hours in discussing Indian affairs, and here we had no discussion on the question, You do leave the chair. The entire discussion was in Committee. But when one comes to take into consideration the great importance of the affairs of the dependency, there can be no reason for any action on the part of the responsible officers or leader of this House for shortening the time for the discussion of Indian affairs.

IN THE LAST TEN YEARS WE HAVE NOT DEVOTED FIFTEEN HOURS IN EACH SESSION TO THE ENTIRE SESSIONAL DISCUSSION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

There are a number of topics which are of far less importance to this great country than those connected with India, which are debated at much greater length, and it seems to me altogether improper, and irregular that a change of this nature should have been allowed to affect the consideration of Indian subjects. I said the change was entirely useless and I will show why. Under the Standing Orders of the House it is quite possible for any member who chooses to incur the displeasure of the House to make a motion respecting India on the question that the House resolve itself into a Committee of Ways and Means and thus interpose himself between the House and the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Budget statement. Then I say

THE CHANGE CREATES AN INVIDIOUS OBSTRUCTION,

because the position of India as regards this House is altogether different to that of other dependencies. We have assumed the entire responsibility of determining what shall be the expenditure of that great country, and therefore is it right and proper that we should treat the matters connected with the expenditure of India in a different manner to which we treat our own matters? I think it has a very unfortunate effect upon the people of India when, first of all, it is noticed how little time is allotted to the discussion of Indian subjects, and secondly, how we treat the question of the Indian Budget. I am not now going to discuss the propriety or otherwise of our Indian debates being taken at the fag end of the Session: it seems hardly necessary that they should be so taken, but whether that is necessary or not it is quite obvious that the change which has occurred in the Standing Order is not one of which we can approve. I hope the House will see the desirability and propriety of going back to the old state of things. I hope I shall have the assent of the right hon. gentleman who now leads the House, and the assent of all hon. members. This is no party question at all. No question connected with India can be a party question. We are all deeply interested in doing our duty by that country whose resources we are so proud of, and whose position is so affected by our discussions.

Sir R. LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.): I rise to second the motion, and I appeal to Her Majesty's ministers to give it a favourable consideration. There is no doubt whatever that the motion is in absolute accord with the opinions and earnest wishes of every class of Her Majesty's subjects in India, whether Indian or European, official or non-official. Everyone in India wishes to see more, rather than less, attention given in the House of Commons to Indian matters, for in the long run the House of Commons really rules the destinies of the Indian empire. The wishes of all classes in India has been freely expressed in petitions, and those who follow as I do from week to week the Indian press will know that there is no subject which excites the interest of the public in India more than the desire that Indian subjects should be taken up in the House of Commons more generally than is now the case. I have had a motion on the paper almost identical with that which the hon. gentleman has moved, ever since the day that I discovered the real effect of the change in the Standing Order. At first, in common, I believe, with almost all the members

of the House, except those who are very well versed in its procedure, I was absolutely ignorant of the effect of the change. In 1888 I never realised the effect of the change.

EVERY OTHER PART OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE HAS A RIGHT

to have its affairs discussed at least on one occasion during the year. The grievances of Mauritius or the Falkland Islands, or any other part of the empire can be discussed, for instance, on the vote for the salary of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Surely, when we compare the importance of India with that of any other part of the British dominions, it is right that an opportunity should be afforded of discussing any grievances that may exist in India. Hon. members will remember that no Indian salaries as such are voted in this House. We vote the whole of the Indian expenditure *en bloc* as it were. That, however, ought not to be given as a reason why we should not have an opportunity of entering into Indian grievances and discussing them. The only argument that I have ever heard advanced in support of the existing rule is that the discussion of Indian affairs in this House is generally based on a certain amount of ignorance, and, sometimes, of prejudice. I don't agree at all with that view. I am quite aware that a large number of the members of this House are not as entirely familiar with the affairs of India as they are with the affairs at home, or perhaps with the affairs of some of the colonies; but I maintain that when the good sound judgment and common sense which is at all times brought to bear by the House of Commons on Indian subjects, especially when Anglo-Indian members venture to submit them to the consideration of the House, the people of India are quite satisfied, and usually find they derive very great and real benefits therefrom. It has been pointed out that from time immemorial up to 1888 the right for which we are asking was possessed. It is perfectly evident to anyone who reads the debate on the motion for the change of the rule that it was not realised that the change would affect the Indian Budget. No one seemed to realise that this would practically preclude the House from taking notice of Indian affairs. I well remember that that very year, when the Indian Budget came on, I came down to the House with my pocket full of letters and extracts received from friends in many parts of India. I am not sufficiently egotistical to believe that any great good would have resulted from what I might have said, but still there were many people in India who thought that their views and their grievances ought to be submitted to the House. What happened? I was called to order very rightly by the Chairman of Committees. I stumbled and stumbled on, not knowing exactly why I was out of order, and was called to order a second time. Finally, I had to give up the attempt to call attention to the subjects which had been entrusted to me, and to devote myself to the consideration of the Financial Statement alone. The Indian Financial Statement is not one of a kind that lends itself to very free discussion. It deals with immense figures, relating to subjects of the greatest importance I admit, but it is impossible to devote to it that amount of discussion that would properly attach to every other topic in connection with India. The financial details have been already settled and there is little to be said upon them. It is on the other details of administration that the common sense and good judgment of this House should be exercised, and for that reason I think the Government will be well advised if they give a favourable hearing to the proposition of my hon. friend opposite and allow reversion to the old and immemorial usages of this House to take place with reference to Indian questions.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): This is a question on which Her Majesty' Government would like to consult the general opinion of the House. If the general opinion of the members is in favour of the change proposed it would scarcely be seemly for the Government to make any strong objection. It is rather the duty of the Executive Government to invite criticism on its action, and it is not for the Government to lay down in what particular form or circumstances the House can best criticise its conduct. I think the hon. member who moved this motion took rather a gloomy view of the possibilities of Indian discussion when he limited them to the Budget night. Since I have had a seat in this House, I know that Indian questions have not only been discussed on the Indian Budget night, but, according to the fortune of the ballot, have found a place on many other evenings throughout the Session. Here we are to-night discussing Indian questions on one of the earliest and best opportunities in the Session. But it is true the Indian Budget night is the only night on which discussion can be absolutely ensured by any member who has an Indian question to discuss; and it is for those independent members who wish to bring Indian questions under Paliamentary discussion to consider how the Indian Budget night can be best utilised for their purposes. It is generally a night towards the end of the Session. The effect of the fifty-first Standing Order is that the night is devoted to one subject to the exclusion of all others, and that is the discussion of the finances of India. I do not know whether it is the opinion of members generally that it is essential that the finances of India shall be discussed in this House. If they are to be discussed the Indian Budget is certainly the occasion on which they can be debated, as the Standing Order ensures that the sole business of that night to the exclusion of all others shall be the discussion of the finances. There are no doubt a great many subjects relating to India that are not connected with finance. Any discussion upon them has been very properly ruled out of order by the Chairman, and no doubt during the last few years members have been confined to the consideration of the finances with such rigour as the duty of the Chairman has compelled him to apply. If members who take part in the discussion would rather have a wider field for their utterances and would wish to discuss every question connected with Indian Administration the adoption of the alteration of the Standing Order proposed by the hon. gentleman will give them a chance, but a chance only, of their raising such discussion; because the House must remember that if amendments are allowed to the motion that Mr. Speaker leave the chair, the cream of the evening may be taken up by the member who is so lucky as to get his name first down on the notice paper. That member will be able, if he wishes, to take the sense of the House at a time when the Government forces are unusually strong, and when the sense of the House is likely to be against him. But we must also remember that this question which absorbs the evening may be a question which affects only half-a-dozen Indian officials, or a question concerning a handful of Indian capitalists, whom I suppose the hon. member for Kirkcaldy (Sir G. Campbell) would call the people of India.

Sir G. CAMPBELL: I? (Laughter.)

Sir J. GORST: Or it may be a question which really affects the welfare of the 270,000,000 or 280,000,000 of people whom the Government represents; but whether it is a large question or a small question it may take up the whole of the time of the House to the exclusion of whatever discussion of the finances may be desired on the Budget. It is really for the House to consider whether it will confine the discussion on the Indian Budget to the Budget itself, or allow the wider scope which the hon. gentlemen who moved and seconded the motion advocate, but which may result in an unpractical and desultory conversation on a variety of unconnected Indian topics occupying the time which the Standing Order at present devotes exclusively to finance.

Sir W. HARCOURT (Derby): I wish the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary had rendered the House a little more assistance by advising us what should be done. It seems to me, that, considering that there are 270,000,000 or 280,000,000 of the Queen's subjects in India, we devote uncommonly little attention to them, and I think some more attention should be given to their interests; this matter is becoming everyday more urgent, because the people of India are feeling more and more the necessity of having their interests guarded. The people of India see that the House of Commons is capable of applying almost as many hours to preventing the people of Dublin moving a pillar as they devote in a Session to the interests of the 270,000,000 of the Queen's subjects in India, and they desire that the House of Commons should discover some manner in which Indian grievances shall be considered in this House. The figures brought forward by my hon. friend the member for Wolverhampton (Sir W. Plowden) are very striking. They are not creditable to the manner in which India is dealt with by the House of Commons. The right hon gentleman the Under Secretary has said if we are to allow members to bring forward Indian grievances they might occupy much time and the Under Secretary might not be able to begin his budget speech until the dinner hour—

Sir J. GORST: No; I make my statements in print now.

Sir W. HARCOURT: At all events, the right hon. gentleman said it might throw the financial discussion back. Well, but is it absolutely impossible that in the course of the Session two days should be devoted to India? I think India is worth two days of the time of the House of Commons, and therefore I do not think that is a subject which ought necessarily to stand in our way. I am not speaking from the point of view of one who desires that Indian subjects shall become a constant battle field of discussion in this House. I do not think that is desirable from any point of view. We do not here undertake particular administrations in India in the same way as we undertake particular administrations in the United Kingdom, but, on the other hand, what opportunities now arise of dealing with Indian questions? We all know that on the Colonial Votes that come on to the Estimates there are constant opportunities of discussion, but of course Indian expenditure does not come under the consideration of the House of Commons in the same manner. I will not myself attempt to propose any definite method of dealing with this matter. I think it is one highly deserving the attention of the House, but I express no strong opinion on it. As far as I can see there is no objection to the proposal of my hon. friend the member for Wolverhampton, which at all events would give a definite opportunity of bringing forward any question of this kind. There may be gentlemen here who understand the matter better than I do, who may think that something else might be done. At all events, I think it is a matter extremely deserving of the attention of the House.

Sir R. TEMPLE (Worcestershire, Evesham): Though I give credit to the hon. member for Wolverhampton (Sir W. Plowden) for having brought this subject forward, nevertheless as a practical man I submit to the House that the present plan is far and away the best, because by it one first-rate discussion is secured and devoted to a practical purpose from the first, and to a debate which relates to the whole of India; whereas under the plan of the hon. member for Wolverhampton the whole evening might be devoted to miscellaneous matters which might or might not be important, and some of which might interest only the particular persons who brought them forward. Instead of discussing the large matter of Imperial finance we should be discussing all sorts of grievances which were not fit to occupy the attention of this House. Of course, if, as suggested by the right hon. gentleman the member for Derby (Sir W. Harcourt) two evenings could be devoted to Indian affairs so much the better; but even then I submit that the only plan is to say that the discussions should be devoted to definite matters of Imperial concern. I submit that there is no good whatever in our following the old English method of disparaging ourselves, and I should be very sorry that the natives of India should suppose from to-day's discussion that this House of Commons or this Parliament has at all neglected or been inattentive to the interests of India. Quite irrespective of the Indinn Budget debates and the hours of discussion to which my hon. friend opposite has referred, it will be found that this Parliament has every Session devoted part of many evenings to vivid and forceful discussions of Indian affairs. I venture to say that the subjects so discussed have been of the very greatest importance to many of our fellow subjects. We an no longer debate Indian topics on the Address to the Throne, but we can still day by day put questions to the responsible minister, at question time in the House, and very often this questioning is a very excellent way of bringing forwardIndian subjects. Besides that, we can ballot for a position on the Notice Paper. There are many mem-

bers of the House who take an interest in Indian questions, and if they all ballot they will secure an evening. Besides those who like myself have lived in India there is a large and increasing number of members who take an interest in that country though they have never been there. Under these circumstances there is no danger of the interests of that great dependency being neglected.

Sir G. CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): Except that I was sitting opposite the right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary, I have not the slightest idea why he fixed a dart on me. I was listening with interest and appreciation to his argument, when I understood him to suggest that the member for Kirkcaldy called small knots of capitalists the people of India. The member for Kirkcaldy is the very last person to do such a thing. On the contrary, any efforts I have been able to make in this House on the subject have been devoted to the purpose of protecting the people of India against knots of capitalists. I generally agree very much with the hon. member for Wolverhampton (Sir W. Plowden) on most topics, and especially on Indian topics; but I must say that on the present topic I am not much with him, and on this broad ground—that I am inclined to think that the less the House of Commons interferes with Indian affairs the better. An hon. friend of mine opposite said that some people who took an interest in India were apt to be influenced by ignorance or prejudice. I will not say much about ignorance. What I am most afraid of is prejudice. I have noticed in this House that the strongest influences which are brought to bear on India are those exercised by prejudice and those of a personal character. I do not think I need go further in illustration of this view than the subject of the Indian Factories' Act. Who are those who take the greatest interest in the question of the Indian Factories' Act? They are the rivals of the Indian manufacturers—the manufacturers of Lancashire. The questions which are put on this subject are almost invariably put by Lancashire members. The First Lord of the Treasury told us that to some extent he accepted the views of these hon. members, and that he had pressed their views on the Government of India, and he told us that the Secretary of State had urged on the Government of India the desirability of prohibiting night work for women and children. We know that work of that kind is a disputable question in this country, but those who are acquainted with tropical climates are aware that night is often the best time for work in those climates, and that work is done at night, the day being devoted to rest. I am quite sure that the First Lord of the Treasury, humane man as he is, would never have advocated such a course except under the influence of ignorance and pressure from hon. members. Therefore it is that I am not anxious that great facilities should be afforded for the discussion of Indian matters in this House. Feeling that such matters would be discussed to a certain extent to the exclusion of other subjects which we already have too little time to discuss, Parliament, in its wisdom, has thought fit to delegate great powers to a body sitting not far from here, and the principal duty imposed by law on them is that of controlling the expenditure of money by the Secretary of State. I certainly feel the force of that which has been urged on the House by other members, namely, that if you go into all sorts of discussions on all sorts of subjects—all sorts of personal grievances will crop up—on the Budget night, it will be impossible to discuss Indian finance in the future as you have discussed it in the past. It is clear to my mind that if you accept this motion, it must be on the understanding suggested by the right hon. gentleman the member for Derby that, instead of having one night, you must have two for Indian questions—one for grievances, and the other for the Indian Budget. If we delegated our duties to local bodies—as I hope one day to see them delegated—and could afford to give one or two additional nights to Indian subjects, then, I hope, members in this House would become better informed as to Indian subjects, and the number of members who really do desire the welfare of India would preponderate over those who act on prejudice. Under such circumstances, if great good is not done to India, at any rate no great harm will be done. Therefore I await the decision of the House, merely submitting my own view that I do not think it desirable that the House should have too much control over India, or that too much time should be devoted to the discussion of Indian subjects until we have sufficiently delegated our duties on the matter.

Sir R. FOWLER (London): This debate has recalled to my mind the recollection of the late Mr. Fawcett, and I think my hon. friends near me will testify that he had as much knowledge of Indian affairs as could be gained without residence in India. Hon. members will recollect that it was his habit to bring forward Indian matters in connection with the Indian Budget, and on those occasions he addressed the House in speeches of length and fullness such as would have been remarkable from any man, and suffering as he did from his physical infirmity. I heard them then and look back upon them now with astonishment. At that time the discussions were taken on the motion that the Speaker leave the chair. I know there is one argument against this course that towards the end of the Session the labours of the occupant of the chair are very great, and that these discussions involve an additional strain upon the Speaker as distinguished from the Chairman of Ways and Means, but at the same time I must admit there are great advantages in the proposal of the hon. gentleman opposite. My hon. friend has said he has found himself unable to enter upon certain subjects in connection with India because the Chairman of Ways and Means has ruled that he could only refer to matters connected with the financial question, and I think there are a good many questions which might be discussed with advantage on such occasions if a rather more liberal interpretation were accorded. There is the question of irrigation for instance, which might be supposed to have an indirect connection with finance, and there are many cognate subjects which might be better discussed on the general motion that the Speaker leave the chair, and recognizing the great advantage there was in this respect when such was the practice fifteen or sixteen years ago in Mr. Fawcett's time, and feeling that there has been less advantage in the system pursued in later years, I have much pleasure in supporting the motion of my hon. friend.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen S.): The hon. member for Evesham has expressed an apprehension lest the effect of debates in this House read in India should give natives of India the impression that the House is less interested in their affairs than the House ought to be. Now I am bound to say in reply to that remark that it will not be from these debates that the natives of India will have their attention called to this matter, because any hon. member who has travelled in India will confirm what I am going to say, that there is no topic which an Englishman, especially if he happens to be a member of Parliament, has more frequently brought to his attention than this discontent, this regret, on the part of the people of India, that the House of Commons takes so little interest in their affairs. I scarcely remember having a conversation in any company of educated native gentlemen in which this subject did not come up. One usually found them saying, "You must be far from sensible of the great responsibility what rests upon you and of the great honour you claim to enjoy as the holders of such an empire, judging from the small amount of time you find for the discussion of Indian affairs." This is a matter of very great concern, and I believe that there are not a few members here who do feel the greatness of our responsibility, and who would willingly take whatever opportunity the proceedings of the House afford to bring Indian affairs to the knowledge of the British public. I am far from wishing to see the House of Commons interfering more actively in Indian affairs than now. I do not think that any of us differ from my hon. friend the member for Kirkcaldy (Sir G. Campbell), that it is undesirable that the House of Commons should endeavour to supersede the Government of India or interfere actively with the administrative action of the Indian Government. It is not at all on that ground that my hon. friend has made his motion. His view is that what is wanted, is not that this House should interfere directly, not that the House should give mandatory directions to the Indian Government, but that it should give more attention to and be more tolerant of Indian discussions than it is now and provide better means for bringing the complaints of the Indian people before the British public not necessarily with a view to action by this House, but in order that the people of India may feel that the facts of their condition are fairly known and studied. Now the question is whether this is best effected by having a power of general discussion before the House goes into Committee on the Indian Budget. It has been very fairly stated, sir, that a discussion with you in the chair might have a tendency to wander, but there are two or three points connected with our procedure which have a bearing on this question. It is not possible late in the Session for private members to secure an opportunity for raising a discussion, and indeed even at the commencement of the Session, as recent experience have shown, the rights of private members are very uncertain. Indeed, after the middle of May it is extremely difficult for private members to obtain any opportunity of bringing questions forward in the House, and not only so but as respects Indian questions it is very difficult to keep a House together. As the House knows, towards the period of the year I have mentioned it is the practice of the Government to take morning sittings, and it is not easy to bring forty members back to the House at 9 o'clock to make a quorum House for an Indian debate. This is a misfortune, for there are many questions that well deserve debate, but thus it happens that members disappointed of their opportunity in May, June, or July find their only chance upon the Indian Budget. That is a strong reason for allowing the greater latitude for which the member for Wolverhampton pleads. It seems to me that an even more material improvement in the treatment of Indian affairs would be to make a rule that the Indian Budget should be introduced earlier in the Session, and that, whenever there were many points to be raised in connection with Indian finance or Indian affairs generally, two days ought to be granted for the discussion. Of course on the last days of the Session the discussion has to be crowded into one night, but if the Indian Budget were, as it ought to be, taken earlier, then two days might fairly be occupied. On the whole I think the balance of argument, looking to the fact that we ought to try to satisfy public opinion in India and to show that we are sensible of our responsibilities towards India, is in favour of the motion.

Mr. CONYBEARE (Camborne): When I heard the remarks of the hon. member for Kirkcaldy, I was inclined to exclaim, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" The Anglo-Indian official view is not one I feel inclined to adopt. The usual Anglo-Indian official view is that India is governed in the best of all possible ways and that it is difficult or impossible to discover any means of bettering the condition of the Indian people. Now we cannot all speak with practical experience and knowledge of India, but I am perfectly certain that the great majority of members who do attend in any degree whatever to the statements and facts they may gather from all sources as to the condition of the people of India must come to this conclusion, that however proud we may be of the great system of administration our forefathers have built up in India, and I in no way seek to depreciate it, yet it falls far short of what it might be expected to be if we relied on the optimistic Anglo-Indian official view. It is not merely the financial condition of India we wish bring before the House, that is done adequately enough by the few specialists capable of dealing with the figures in an Indian Budget, but we cannot leave out of view the social condition of the people of India, and it is to this we want to call the attention of the people of this country, and to enlighten them through the medium of debate upon the condition of our fellow subjects in India. I am inclined to think that few of our people realise what a terrible condition of poverty is that of the greater part of the two hundred and seventy millions of our fellow subjects in India. The average earnings of each inhabitant of these islands is £41 per annum, but the average earnings of an Indian subject of Her Majesty is only £2 a

year. While the average surplus of income of every individual in this country is £4 3s. 2½d., in India it is represented by the miserable sum of 4½d. There are many other facts which might be adduced in elucidation of this condition of things, and the terribly poverty stricken condition of the people which suggests that something should be done to stem the constant drain of wealth out of India at present going on. If this were a time to go into details it would be possible to show by accumulated instances the enormous suffering caused by the constantly recurring famines, I will not say as the result of our Government, but which surely our Government has not done enough to prevent. I do not say we are at fault in relieving distress when famine occurs, but we have not been successful in working out the causes of these famines, and it is well the light of public opinion should be directed to the subject. So far as I am able to gather, the condition of the people in the native governed portions of India is far more satisfactory than the condition of the people in those parts immediately under British administration. That, if correct, surely shows that the causes of the poverty of which we complain and the terribly depressed social condition of the people are not to be found in the inherent qualities of the people or conditions of climate, but may be traced to maladministration or defects in our system. But the question before us is whether we shall return to what was the old constitutional practice in regard to Indian affairs. The hon. member for Kirkcaldy is anxious that the House should not have too much control over Indian affairs and he fears the ignorance and prejudice that exist on the subject. But we do not, as has been said by the hon. member for Aberdeen, want to take away the responsibility and power exercised by India House, although so far as the system of Government emanating from from India House is concerned, I do say the proceedings ought to be subjected to the light of public opinion. Everything is done in a hole-and-corner manner. We ought to know what the Indian Council is doing, how they conduct the affairs of this great empire, and I hope the time for this publicity is coming. As to ignorance and prejudice we know how prejudice has been excited by the rivalry which the Indian cotton manufacturers have established with our home manufacturers and how the trade in Bombay has made that a manufacturing town equal to many in this country. We can understand the selfish interests brought to bear against formidable rivals in India, and these influences being exercised in an underhand, backstairs sort of way, we cannot cope with them so long as we are unable to bring the facts before the House. The effect of free discussion in this House would be to stamp with a sense of responsibility those who otherwise might work to the prejudice of our Indian fellow subjects. I am quite sure that public opinion in this country would be against the exercise of any influence from these selfish trade motives. An excessively small amount of time is devoted here to Indian affairs. I think it has been estimated at fourteen hours in a Session for all subjects affecting India. Now I do not think it is too much to insist upon that two regular days should be devoted to Indian affairs, one day for the discussion of general questions on the motion that the Speaker do leave the chair, and the other day to the specific subjects connected with finance. The ballot for private members interested in Indian subjects is an uncertain process, and even when the day is secured the Government steps in frequently and confiscates the opportunity. We know, too, that in the latter part of Session it is well nigh impossible by the influence of a private member to keep a House together for an Indian debate. There is one suggestion I might offer. There is a complaint of ignorance of Indian matters in the House that members do not make themselves acquainted with the geography, language, and social conditions of the people. It is not possible for many members to avail themselves of the opportunity of travelling in India during the recess, but I throw out the suggestion that if the Government would place at the disposal of members some of Her Majesty's ships there would thus be afforded a ready means of spreading knowledge by personal visits of our great Indian dependency. I am prepared to hear that suggestion received with a laugh, but have we not at the present moment facilities to members to view the launching of new vessels at Portsmouth; and in the Jubilee year were not other facilities offered of this nature? I am not in the least afraid of ampler discussions on Indian affairs and the full ventilation of all grievances, or that important Indian questions may be dragged through the mire of partisan debate. I am certain that much good will result to India from the confidence inspired by the knowledge that an increasing number of people in this country take a lively and sympathetic interest in Indian affairs.

Mr. SWIFT MacNEILL (Donegal, S.): I have always taken an interest in Indian matters, for I represent a country which, like India, is under British rule, but outside the pale of the British Constitution. We hear from Anglo-Indian officials that the people of India are contented and happy, but they are nothing of the kind, and would be foolish if they were. The Government of India is in the hands of a few officials, and debate on Indian matters in this House was restricted in 1888, just about the time when Mr. Bradlaugh got his mandate from the people of India to take up their cause. Debate is restricted by being taken in Committee on the Budget, and I well remember how this operated when the hon. member for Shoreditch wished to draw attention to proceedings of the Government in India for the authorisation of vice. That had nothing to do with the Budget question. I think, on the same occasion when the hon. member who seconded the motion—and who has taken great interest in educational matters in India, and has done a great deal to solve the problem as to how far we are able to bring Western education and ideas into harmony with Eastern life—when this hon. gentleman thought he was quite within his rights in giving the House some idea from his special knowledge on this subject, he was at once ruled out of order. And a member of the Government opposite—the Under Secretary for India himself who is a Deputy-Chairman, I remember, on the Budget of 1889, exercised his legitimate rights, as he thought, and endeavoured to give expression to his views on Indian Government and the National Congress, but he had hardly uttered half-a-dozen words when he was called to order. I wish to show how debate is stifled in this House, not only by irresponsible members like myself being ruled out of order, but by even members of the Government being treated in the same way. I think that what took place on the last Budget was the most emphatic condemnation of discussion of all. I have here a speech by Mr. Bradlaugh—whose presence here we all of us, no matter on what side we sit, were always glad to see, and who was an upright and honourable man, and a great acquisition to the House. I am sure that of all members of the House the First Lord of the Treasury will pay attention to what Mr. Bradlaugh had to say on the subject, for we all recollect with pleasure that in Mr. Bradlaugh's closing hours the right hon. gentleman forgot all the enmity of party, and wished to tender to the dying man sympathy and regard. The Chairman of Ways and Means will remember calling Mr. Bradlaugh to order with great pain. He would have liked to have heard what Mr. Bradlaugh had to say on these most interesting topics if his speech could have come into consonance with the ruling of the chair. We all know that of all matters the one which has affected Indian trade most materially was the statement of the right hon. gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 24th March when he proposed to abolish the silver plate duty. Mr. Bradlaugh wished to direct attention to the probable consequences to Indian finance of that abolition, and at once the Chairman said "I do not know how this concerns the finance of India." And then, further, we have a still more important point. Mr. Bradlaugh wished to direct attention to the operation of the salt syndicate in still further increasing the salt tax in India, which is one of the worst and vilest taxes of the Indian Government and a tax which we alone, of all people, impose upon a subject race, and which was referred to only the other day as a specimen of our rule in India. Again the Chairman said "I cannot see how that is relevant to the subject before the House." Referring to the point that all matter connected with the salt syndicate were outside the scope of the discussion, Mr. Bradlaugh said, "The moment you say that it is my duty to accept, as I always do, with profound respect the ruling you give, but it then becomes my duty to appeal to this Committee when it is sitting as a House, to give at least once a year, as by the old custom always was given, some opportunity during which the representatives of a defenceless nation may put before Parliament their criticism of the official statement made, and some reasons for the grievances pointed out." Those words are more eloquent coming from a man in the grave than they would have been if we had still his kindly presence amongst us. I do not see how the Under Secretary for India can at all even by implication limit the discussion of the finances of 270,000,000 people who have no voice whatever in that discussion to one night. So far back as 1873 when Indian subjects did not excite the amount of interest they do at present, the Indian Budget took three nights. I am sure the First Lord of the Treasury would be glad to consult public opinion in India, and would be glad to show to the people of the country that he takes some interest in their welfare. I hope that when the right hon. gentleman comes to speak—as I see he will immediately—he will take note of and consider the opinions of gentleman on all sides of the House, and of Mr. Bradlaugh. On all these grounds I respectfully hope, having regard to the magnitude of the question and to the scant attention given to Indian matters, that the right hon. gentleman will at once say that the Government will accede, and gracefully accede to this motion.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I have listened with great interest to the conversation—it cannot be called a debate—which has been taking place during the past hour and a half. I find that there is almost a universal concensus of opinion on the part of those who have been responsible for the Government of India in any sense, that there is no desire whatever to interfere with the actual administration of affairs in India. The only difference of opinion which has been expressed has been by gentlemen who have hitherto had no responsibility for that Government. The desire we have had in limiting the debate on the Indian Budget has been to insure the discussion of Indian finance. It appears now to be generally the opinion of hon. gentlemen in this House that it is even more important to secure an opportunity for dealing with the grievances of India, than to discuss Indian finance. At the same time we do not desire to escape from the discussion of these Indian grievances, although we disavow all intention of interfering with Indian administration. If the debate we have had this evening is circulated in India I am afraid it will not give the people of India generally a very high opinion of the knowledge and information that this House possesses on Indian subjects or that they are able to suggest any very practical method by which the grievances—if they are grievances—can be remedied. I remark that one hon. gentleman who spoke in this debate remarked that discussion in this House would probably tend to uproot the causes of famine in India. I have always understood that those causes were drought, and it struck me as very remarkable in the House that any hon. gentleman should get up and say that a resolution or discussion in this House could avert those terrible calamities which are certainly due to causes far beyond any human control. I observe that an hon. member opposite shakes his head. I wish he could have the responsibility of governing some district in India and would state for himself how he could avert a drought in India by any resolution like this. I only refer to the remark of an hon. member to show how thoroughly impracticable are some views on the great questions that affect the Indian people. The right hon. gentleman the member for Derby pressed on Her Majesty's Government the expediency of yielding to the views expressed by hon. members on both sides of the House. Well, this is not a matter on which the Government desire to oppose the appeals of hon. gentlemen if they wish to discuss questions other than those of finance on the annual occasion when the Indian Budget is presented to the House. There would be no desire on the part of Her Majesty's Government to shut out these questions. The arrangement now in force is the one which best secures the consideration of the finances of India, for which undoubtedly the Government of India is responsible. If, however, in the opinion of hon. members and of the House, there are questions which should precede the consideration of the finances of India, it is certainly not for the Government to interpose any obstacle. I notice that one hon. member desired that these matters should be discussed at an earlier

period than we are accustomed to take, but the House is aware that the actual figures on which the Indian Budget is framed do not arrive from India until the month of June is far advanced; and in the month of June the condition of public business is such that it is almost impossible to interpose a debate of one or two days in the debate on some Bill which is before the House, and which it is necessary to press upon the consideration of in the House. It is not in our option to present the Indian Budget for consideration at a very much earlier period than at present; and if it is relegated to a late period of the Session it is a circumstance which we regret, but which we are unable to prevent. My desire is that hon. gentlemen who are acquainted with, and have an interest in, this subject, should have a full opportunity of dealing with it when the occasion arises, because there is no doubt that questions of very great importance to their fellow subjects in India frequently occur—questions upon which they undoubtedly ought to be the means of expressing not only their own views and opinions, out those which they know to be entertained in India.

Motion made that Standing Order No. 51 be "amended" by inserting after the words "ways and means" the words "or the Committee on Indian Financial Statement."

Question put that these words be here added. Agreed to.

EAST INDIA (PRESIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT).

Mr. BUCHANAN: I rise, sir, to call attention to the Presidential system of Government in India; and to move, "That, in accordance with the recommendation of four successive Governments of India, the system of separate presidential commands in Madras and Bombay should be abolished, and that the entire administration of all the Indian armies should be made over to the Commander-in-Chief in India, acting in direct communication with the commanders of the local armies and under the direct orders of the Government of India." The question which I have undertaken to bring before the House to-night is one which I regard as one of very general importance as well as of the greatest interest to the Government of India. It is one that has formed the subject of continued representations that have been made from time to time to the Secretary for India ever since the year 1879. I would in the first place remind the House that the words I have used in this resolution are not words of my own, but that they are words which have been employed in despatches that have been addressed to the Government of India; and therefore it is a question with which I am supported by the weight of Indian official opinion and the authority of Indian experts both civil and military. This authority I may say is overwhelmingly on one side, and the words in my resolution that the entire administration of all the Indian armies should be made over to a commander-in-chief in India, acting in direct communication with the commanders of the local armies of India and under the direct orders of the Government of India, are those of Lord Dufferin, the earlier words referring to the recommendation of four successive Governments of India, being those of Lord Lansdowne, in fact we have the declared opinions of four successive Governments of India in favour of my proposals, namely of that of the present Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, that also of the previous Governments of Lord Dufferin and Lord Ripon, and in addition to these we have the opinion of several members of the Government of Lord Lytton and of Lord Lytton himself. The House will recognise that these four Viceroys represent not only men of different parties but also men of different political characters and minds. In addition to these noble lords who held the office of Viceroy of India, you have also had a number of distinguished men occupying civil and military positions who were thoroughly in favour of this proposal. I will not trouble the House with the names, but will only ask at the list of individuals who have formed part of the Government of Lord Lytton and the successive Governments of Lord Ripon, Lord Dufferin, and Lord Lansdowne to enable them to see that I honourable gentlemen who are interested in this matter to look am fully borne out in my statement. With regard to military opinion in India, I will only refer to it for one moment in order to put before the House the fact that we have more than once had the opinion of the present Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Frederick Roberts, expressed in favour of our views. In addition to this we have also had the favourable opinion of Sir Donald Stewart, and amongst others, who may be said to represent home military opinion in India, the opinion of General Chesney and General Wilson. The materials before the House, by which it may be guided in forming its opinion on this subject, are to be found in three different Blue Books that have been issued at different times—one of them in 1884 another in 1887. Further material is also to be found in the correspondence which was issued last year to the other House of Parliament, and I may also refer to the slight discussion which took place in this House upon thesubject in the Budget of 1883-84, as well as the further discussion which took place in the House of Lords last Session. I shall endeavour to state the case I have to put before the House as briefly as possible, and I shall also endeavour to put facts I have to advance as clearly as I can for the judgment of honourable gentlemen. I do not propose to go back to the ancient history of this question. Practically it all dates from the year 1879, when coincident with the discussion which took place in this House on Indian expenditure, Lord Lytton, who was then Viceroy of India, appointed the Simla Army Commission to consider the whole subject of Indian army administration and expenditure. Now what is the present system? I presume it is within the knowledge of members of this House that as far as the army is concerned it comes to this—tbat the Madras and Bombay army have separate commanders-in-chief, and are administered by separate military departments attached to the different governments. The Commander-in-Chief is also Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal army in addition to the two commanders of the Presidential armies I have referred to. The Commander-in-Chief in India undoubtedly has a certain general control over all the armies in India, but all questions of discipline and administration of the armies in the Madras and Bombay presidencies are decided by the local Commanders-in-Chief and the military departments connected with the governments of each of these presidencies. This may be taken as a very general statement of the position which, as I understand it, is occupied by these two armies. Now as far as the local interests of these two armies are concerned the grievances that have arisen would not, I think, have been so urgently demanded a remedy, but it was owing to the fact that the command of the North-West frontier of Southern Afghanistan was under the Bombay command, and that of Lower Burmah, before it was annexed to Upper Burma, was under Madras—it was owing to these two facts and the military operations on these two frontiers that difficulties and confusion has arisen which has given rise to continually pressing demands by the Government of India to the home authorities for the abolition of the presidential system of command. The presidential system, as it continues to exist, in civil and military matters in Madras and Bombay is not a system of administration carefully built up in accordance with the results of long experience, but may be said to be the survival of past history. Undoubtedly the presidential system is due to the fact that our conquest of India started from three bases, namely that of the West Coast, that from the mouth of the Ganges, and that of Madras, and in consequence we had three separate armies for what were three separate dependencies. But the new India with a Governor-General as the central authority, solely responsible to the Home Government, is constituted under a totally different system, and the political theory of the Government is that there should be in the Viceroy in Council, one individual responsible to Parliament and the British people for the whole administration of that great dependency. Now I should like to say that, as I read the papers and correspondence that has taken place between the Government of India and the Home Government, there is no intention whatever of doing away with the armies of Bombay and Madras as local forces, and as far as mere terminology is concerned, if the commanders of those forces desire to retain the titles of commanders-in-chief, no objection could be made to their doing so. Those who look at those papers will see that if the principle I am indicating is carried out in all probability these forces of Bombay and Madras will be better able to discharge their duties as local forces. Then there is another point to which I desire to call the attention of the House. This proposal as set forth in the correspondence of the Government of India is not a measure of centralization, but for carrying out a system of unity of command, unity of responsibility in the Government of India and in regard to everything that concerns the administration of India. This point is particularly dwelt upon by successive Governments of India who have urged the matter upon the attention of the India Office. Lord Lytton put it in this way—he said he considered the Government of India should be based on a water-tight compartment system, and the Governments of Lord Ripon and Lord Dufferin favour the views I have put forward, neither of them desiring centralization but a proper unity of organization of the forces. Honourable members who look at the draft General Order, to which I shall afterwards refer, made by Lord Dufferin's Government will be able to see how the Government of India is prepared to carry out its scheme in detail without increasing centralization, but rather by greater localization of force in the civil and military arrangements of India. The principle we are contending for was practically conceded many years ago when the military accounts department was amalgamated, and from that time forward the Governments of Madras and Bombay have been unable to make any alteration in military organization which involves the slightest increase of expenditure without consulting the Government of India. This system of amalgamation as the hon. gentleman the Under Secretary is well aware, has been further carried out during the last ten years. The Government of India and the Secretary of State for India have marched a very considerable way in the direction of carrying out the abolition of presidential commands. What we urge upon them at the present time is that they should go a single step further and really do away with them as still liable to cause very considerable danger in time of war as well as serious inconvenience at all times. Now, sir, as I stated, the Simla Army Commission was appointed by Lord Lytton in 1879, and it reported in the same year. But the Government of Lord Lytton had no opportunity of formally considering it. Lord Lytton himself wrote a very strong minute in favour of the recommendation of the Commission, and in favour of this particular proposal. Lord Ripon's Government did not take up the subject of its own initiative. They were especially instructed to do so by the India Office in a telegram from the then Secretary for India, the noble lord the member for Rossendale. Getting those instructions, Lord Ripon took up the matter thoroughly, and in a series of despatches during the year 1881, they dealt with all matters contained in the Army Commission Report, and they recommend the adoption of the bulk of the proposals, including the main proposal of the abolition of presidential commands. Lord Kimberley at the time he was Secretary of State for India was willing to carry certain minor recommendations of the Government of India, but he refused to abolish the presidential commands basing his refusal chiefly on financial grounds. The Government of India had not been able to show that the financial saving would be quite as much as he had been led to expect and believe by the Government of India. But taking part in the debate which took place in the House of Lords last Session, Lord Kimberley showed that his view in this respect was very considerably modified. No doubt from that time continuous representations have been made by the Government of India, and by every Viceroy since the year 1883. In the year 1885 a change was made in Indian military policy, owing to the Russian advance upon Afghanistan. Then measures were passed for increasing the Army of India, and also for fortifications, especially on the frontier of southern Afghanistan. The matter was taken up by Lord Dufferin in a despatch which he wrote, and which appears in the Blue Book of 1887. The noble lord the member for Paddington agreed to some of Lord Dufferin's recommendations, but he declined to sanction the measure for the abolition of Presidential commands on the ground that the change could not be carried out without legislation. In 1888 we got the second representation of Lord Dufferin's Government on the subject. They had experienced the difficulties of the situation at Quettah, and in the intervening years they had further experienced the difficulties which had been experienced at Burmah. Lord Dufferin wrote a most admirable despatch on the 1st June, 1888, urging this as an eminently necessary reform to be sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India. Immediately, or almost immediately, on the receipt of it, the Secretary of State for India telegraphed for particulars of

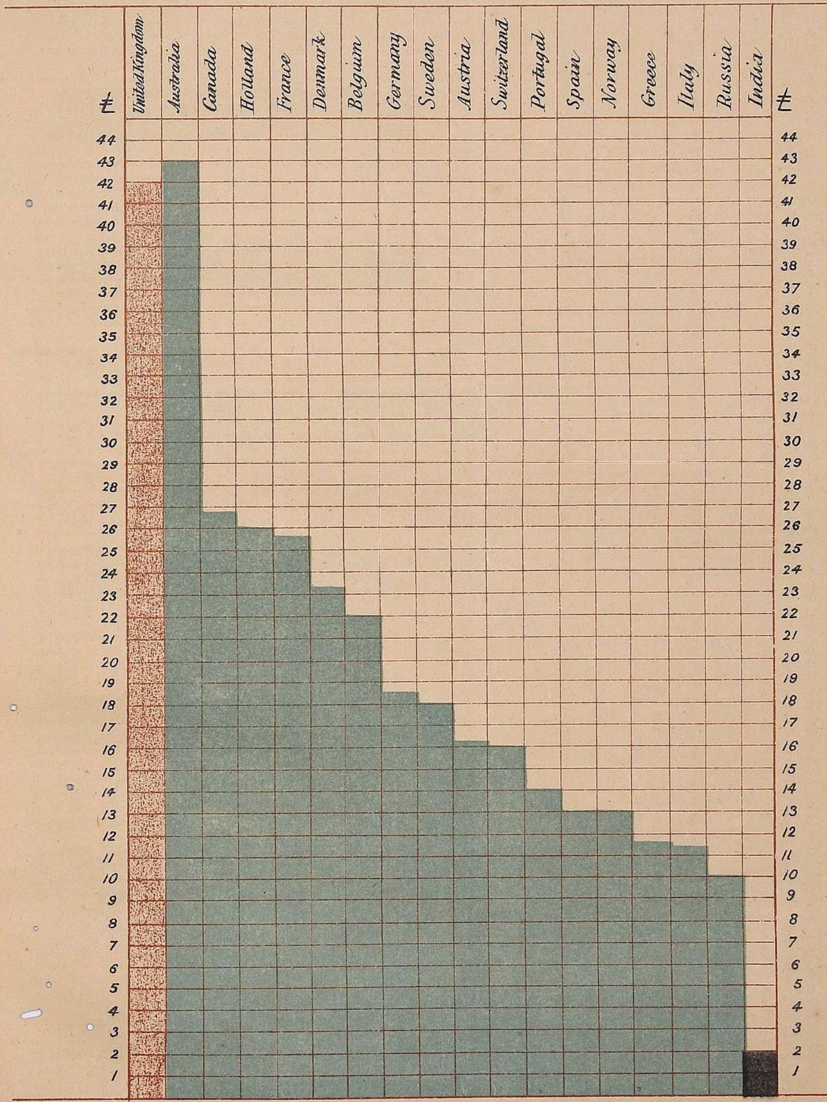
(*Continued on page 89.*)

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

WE lay before our readers to-day in the following graphic tables some startling facts respecting the condition of the Indian people and some of the features of our rule. It may be remarked that the statistical authority for every one of these tables is to be found in the publications of the India Office. They cannot, therefore, be impugned, but must be accepted by every one as setting forth the actual condition of affairs in India so far as they go. Table I. exhibits in a striking form both the relative and the absolute poverty of the Indian people. It is often said that the Indians are the poorest people on the face of the earth among so-called civilized nations. This table puts the fact in a form which cannot fail to carry conviction to the most sceptical mind:—

TABLE I.

INCOME PER HEAD PER ANNUM.



Comparatively poor as Russia, Italy, Greece, and other countries may be, let it not be forgotten that such resources as they have are spent in the respective countries by the native inhabitants of those countries. That is not the case in India. Foreigners skim the cream off every pint of milk, and take some of the milk as well

TABLE II.

This Table shows the insufficiency of the National Income for the sustenance of the people. The figures as given are really more favourable to some of the districts, *ex. gr.*, Madras and the North-West Provinces and Oudh, than they ought to be. Sir David Barbour has estimated the Agricultural Income of India at Rx. 325,000,000 per annum, and the receipts from all other sources at half that amount. In the latter item he includes all manufactures, employment for shipping goods, and so on. I have, impartially, added 50 per cent. in each Province to the agricultural income. For the reasons stated this makes the Presidency and Province mentioned appear better off than they really are. Death Returns and Population Statistics are in harmony with the results indicated in the Table, which, in itself, is too expressive to require further comment.

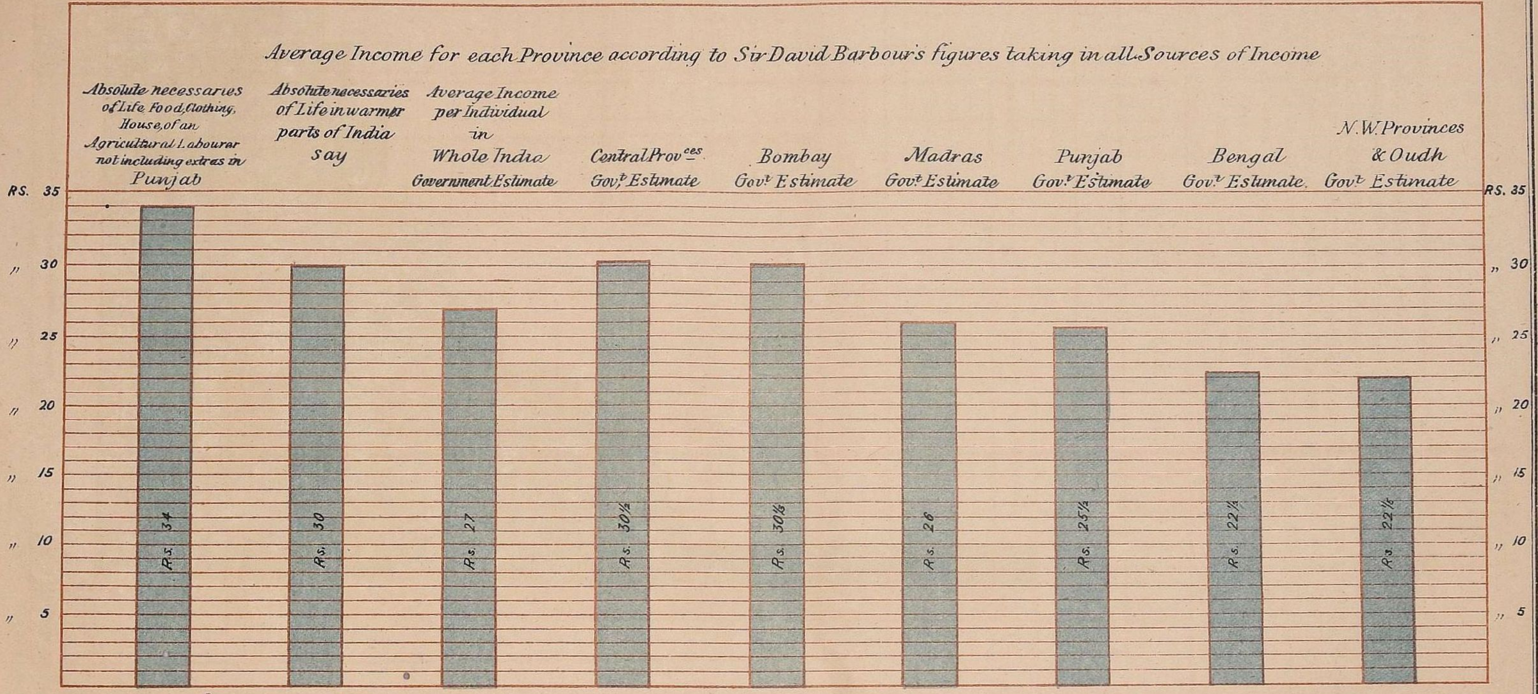


TABLE III.

In nothing, perhaps, have the ill-effects of British administration of India been more strikingly exhibited than in the greater costliness of anecessary of life, such as is Salt, at the present time as compared with the beginning of this century. We give below the exact figures for two of the Presidencies. Facts regarding others do not appear to be available, but we may remind our readers that the first Salt-tax imposed in India by the British was that in Bengal by Lord Clive, with the express object of providing large salaries for British officials so as to remove them from the temptation of private trade and from even more questionable practices. It may be added that in the United Kingdom the average consumption per head of Salt is 40 lbs. for condiments only, 72 lbs. for all purposes; in India it is 10 lbs. only for everything! Yet the Indian people are vegetarians and need salt more than do meat-eating Britishers. In a host of other ways, fish-curing, hide-preserving, and the like, India is sorely in need of more and cheaper salt. Further, it is not a coincidence only that dear and scarce salt in England synchronized with leprosy in this country. Indian leprosy is more prevalent than it would be if salt were as cheap as it was in pre-British days.

PRICE OF SALT PER MAUND OF 82 lbs.

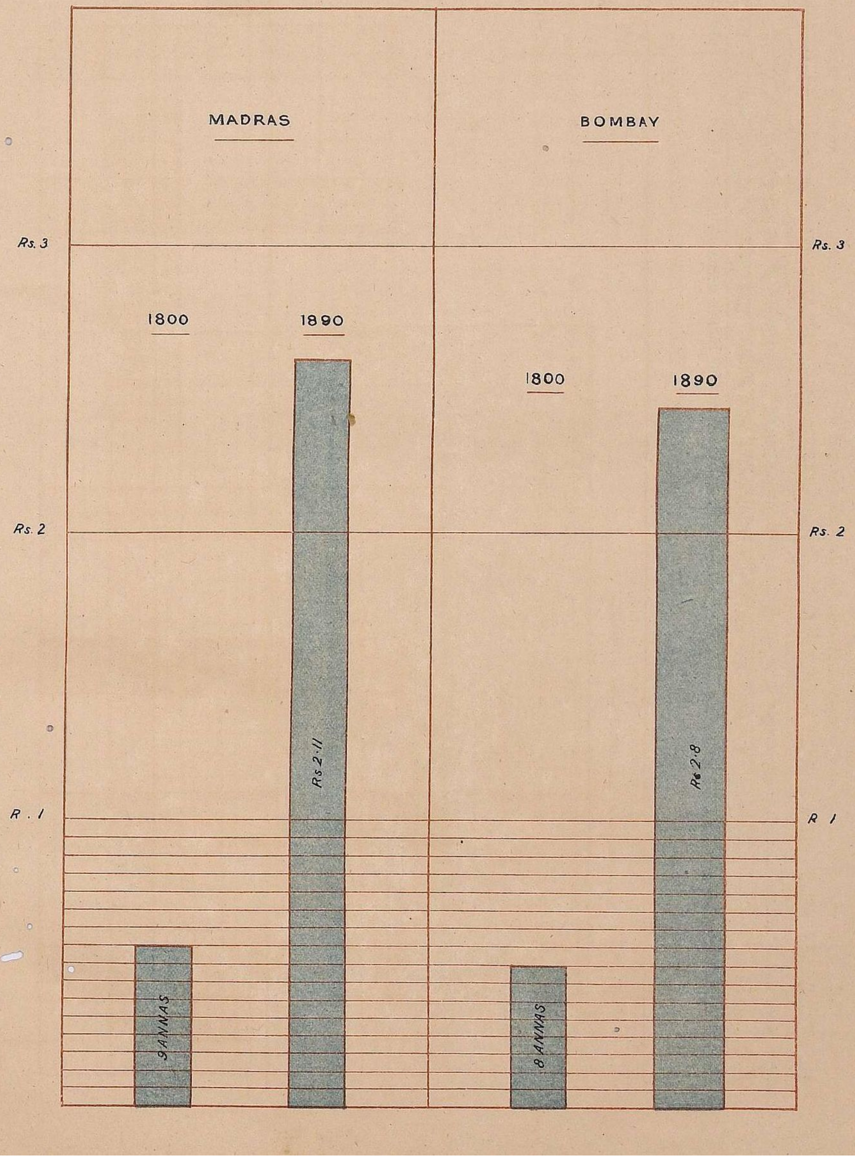


TABLE IV.

The diagram below shows Individual Excess Income in the United Kingdom and Minus Income in India after bare sustenance and simple clothing in the latter country has been provided, and after the English high standard of comfort in food and profuseness in material things generally are considered.

It will doubtless surprise many people to learn that the Indian Income is a minus one. How, then, it may be asked, do the Indian people live? Many of them do not live, as will be seen by Tables V. and VI. in the next page. As compared with English life, Indian existence is very short. The minus income explains nearly everything.

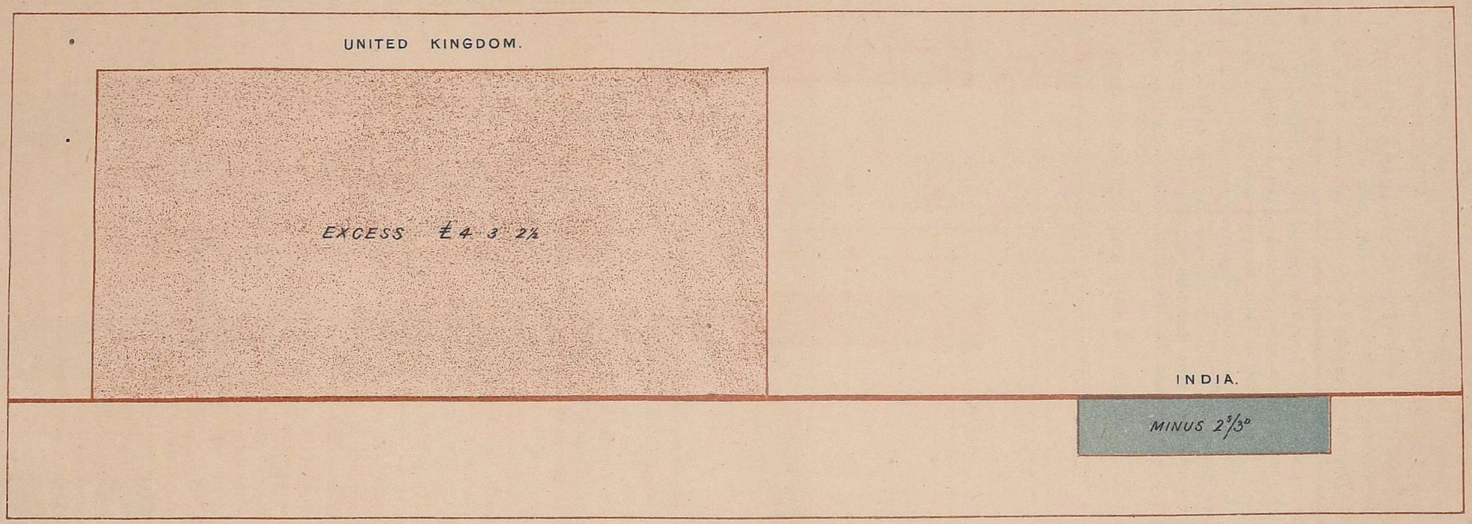


TABLE V.

Of this Table nothing farther need be said than that it is the result of most careful calculations made in 1881 in India by the Census Commissioner of that year. No explanation can add to the effectiveness of this diagram.

AVERAGE LENGTH OF LIFE.

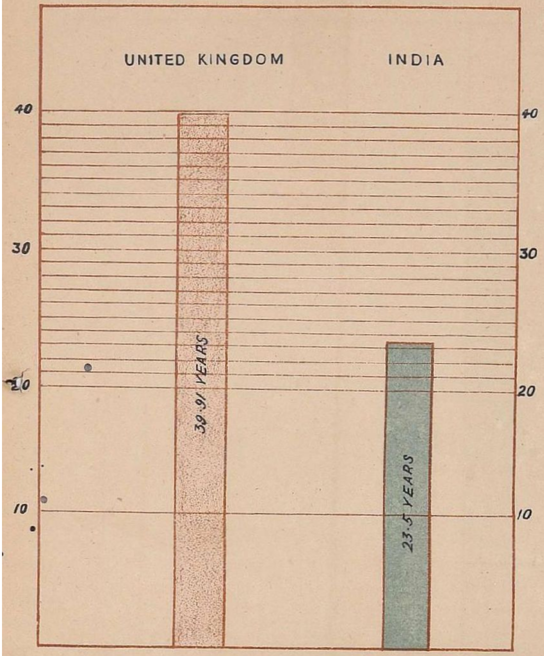
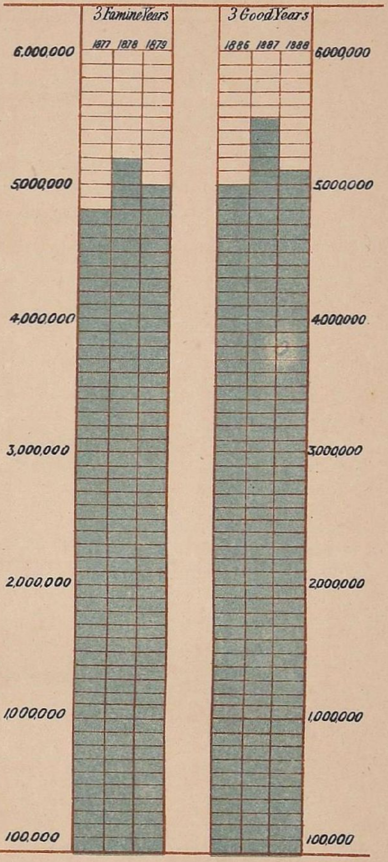


TABLE VI.

NO. OF DEATHS IN THE THREE WORST FAMINE YEARS OF THE CENTURY, 1877–79.

NO. OF DEATHS IN THREE GOOD YEARS, 1886–88.



For the more complete understanding of Table VI. note should be taken of Table VII. on the next page. In a word, however, it may be said that in the three good years indicated in the second diagram, the condition of the Indian people was worse than in the three corresponding years—awful famine years—of the preceding ten years.

'A whole nation, forming one-sixth of the whole human race and justly claiming to be one of the proudest races on earth, lives from year's end to year's end on scanty food, always with the dismal cloud of famine hanging over its head, and that, too, while living under a Government which, making allowances for the imperfections inseparable from alien rule, is one of the best, the purest, and the noblest Governments the world has ever seen. This makes the serious magnitude of the industrial problem which confronts us in India.' It does, indeed. What causes the yearly-increasing Fever deaths is the growing innutrition of the people and the consequent lowering of vitality, whereby an ague instead of merely shaking a man for a few days and then leaving him, now takes away his life. 'Insufficient clothing, poor food,' are two among five reasons given by Government for the increase of fever deaths. During the period named the death-rate from fevers alone has gone up from 16·49 per thousand to 18·12 for the whole of India, while in the North-West Provinces and Oudh the rate has been as high as 27·48! Every part of India, save Coorg and Mysore, have shared in the increase: in the last year of the series Madras and Berar show a slight recovery over the figures even of 1880. As compared with the three famine years of 1877, 1878, and 1879, when the deaths from fever totalled 9,331,834, the three "plenty" years of 1886, 1887, and 1888 totalled 10,430,255, or 1,098,421 additional deaths! But the subject must be pursued a little further, and the deaths from all causes during these triennial periods considered. The years 1877, 1878, and 1879 are generally acknowledged to be amongst the most terrible years of the century in India. Famine was prevalent in the North, South, and West of the Empire. Yet the recorded deaths of those years fell short of the recorded deaths of the years 1886, 1887, and 1888, by more than half-a-million. The figures are as follows:—

		No. of Deaths.			No. of Deaths.
1877	..	4,784,619	1886	..	5,016,877
1878	..	5,163,996	1887	..	5,508,454
1879	..	4,970,008	1888	..	5,087,138
Total	...	14,918,713	Total	..	15,512,469

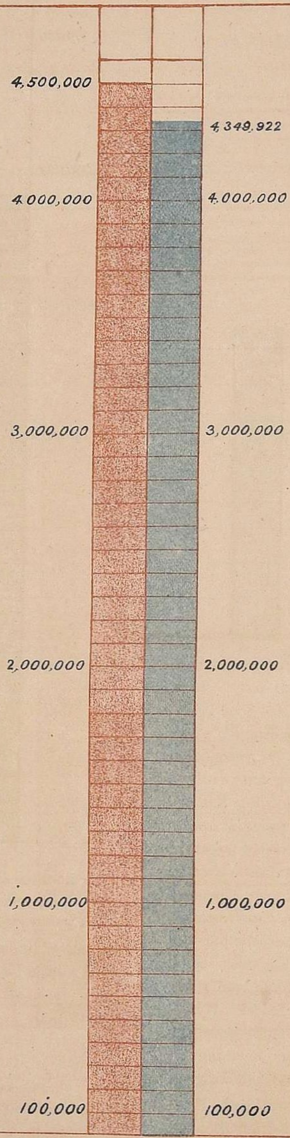
Or a total of nearly six hundred thousand additional deaths in the last triennial period.

TABLE VII.

LOSS OF LIFE BY WAR IN CIVILIZED STATES OF THE WORLD DURING NINETY-SEVEN YEARS (1793—1890).

AND

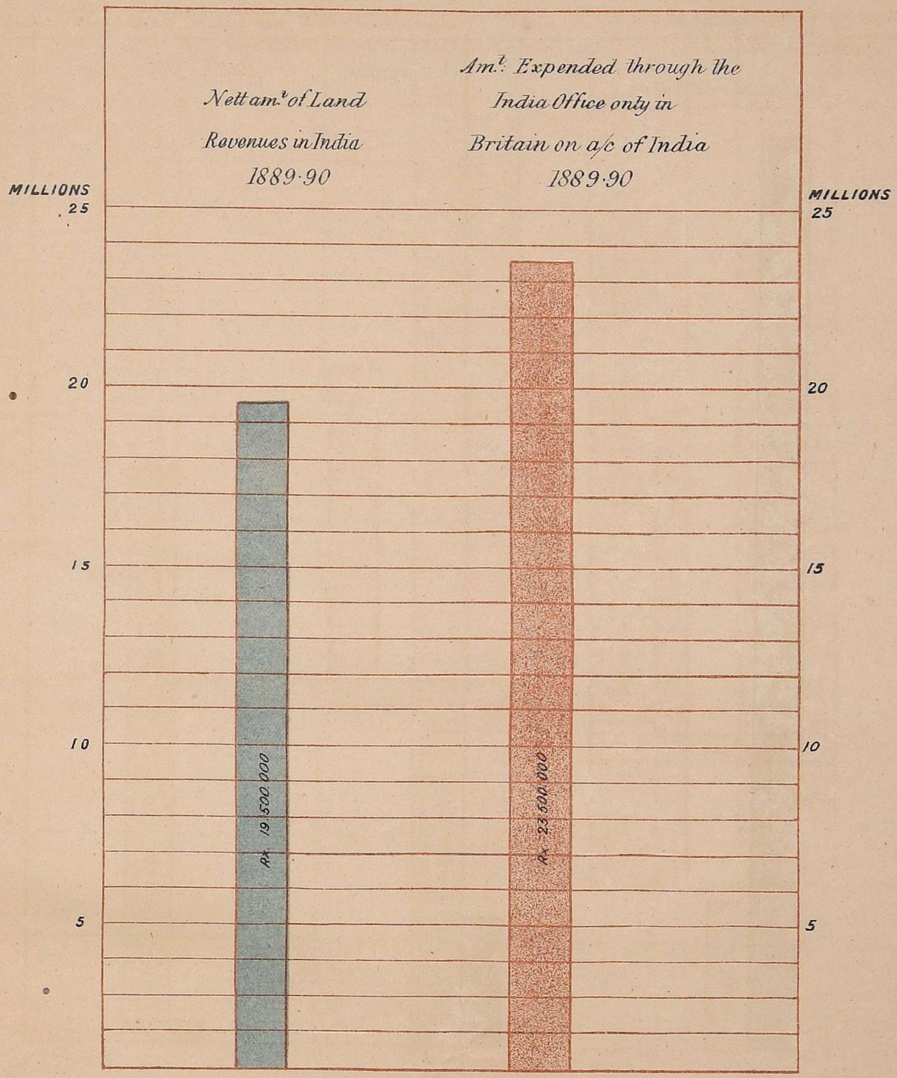
EXCESS DEATHS IN INDIA (OVER THOSE RECORDED IN 1880 THAT BEING A NORMAL YEAR) IN EIGHT YEARS (1881 TO 1888), FROM FEVER ONLY (FEVER BEING A EUPHEMISM FOR STARVATION).



"Eighty" was a normal year in many respects, and may fairly be taken as a basis for comparison. That being so the above diagram shows that, so far as actual deaths are concerned, one of the years mentioned, of our rule of India, was twelve times worse than a year of ordinary warfare, with breech-loading cannon, repeater rifles, and explosive bullets, would have been. If we have saved a few thousands of people from the swords of Mahratta marauders per annum it is, apparently, only that starvation should annually garner one hundred times as many. As for wide-spreading fever we are responsible, in some cases, for the malaria which finds the under-fed and under-clothed people such easy victims. The authority for the latter statement is to be found in an India Office Blue Book on Vital Statistics.

TABLE VIII

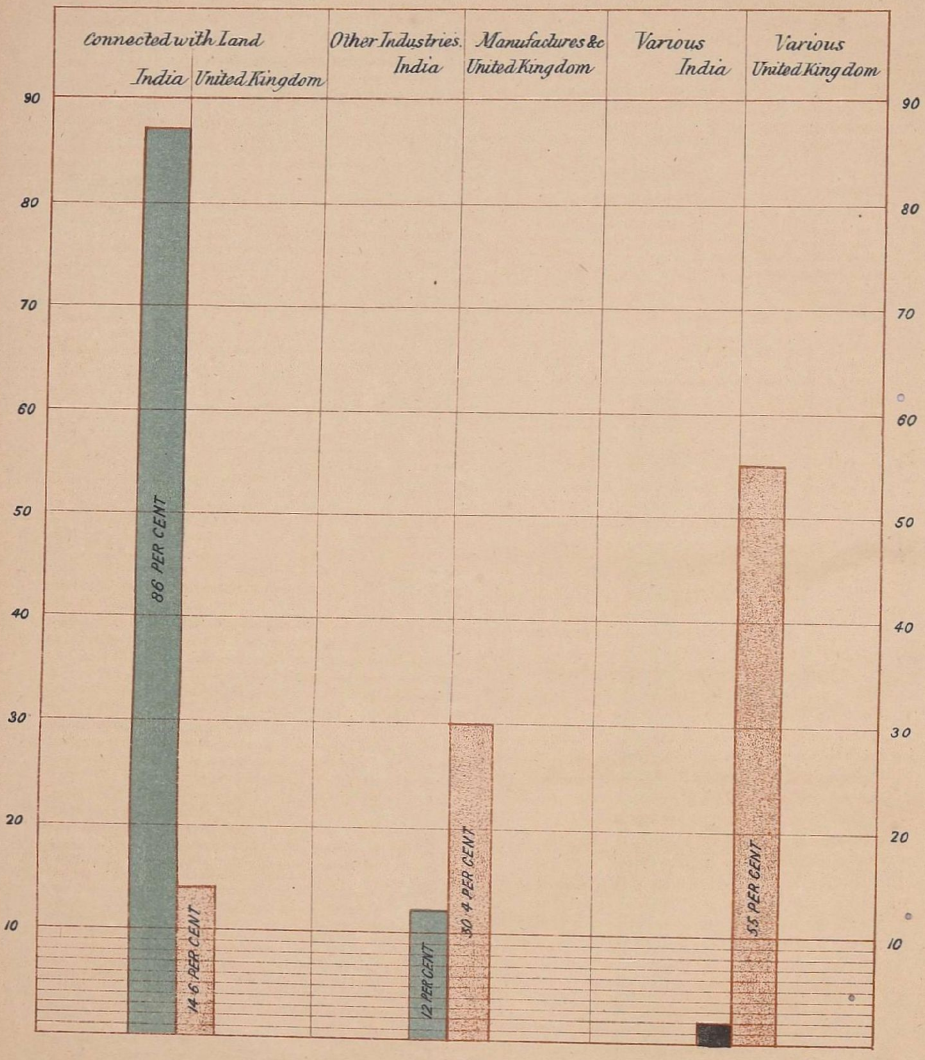
ABSENTEE LANDLORDISM AND THE RUINOUS DRAIN OF A COUNTRY'S RESOURCES



From the above graphic representation it will be seen that last year the Secretary of State for India received from India and expended in this country on account of India, not only all the rent derived from the whole Empire, but three millions more, being profits on other industries than agriculture. How is it possible for any people to have food enough, and clothes sufficient to keep them warm, if so vast a proportion of the resources of the country are taken to another land for expenditure? That sum of Rx. 23,450,000 represented by the red column is equal to half of the net taxation of India. Remember, too, that a drain of this character has been going on, though not to quite so great an extent, for more than ninety years. Under such circumstances, India must, necessarily, yearly add to the poverty-stricken features already remarked upon.

TABLE IX.

PER CENTAGE OF POPULATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND INDIA, EMPLOYED IN VARIOUS PROFESSIONS AND INDUSTRIES.



Time was, before the British broke up the industrial system of India, when the proportions were other than those shown above. Of course, the obvious remark of any person who takes heed to the teaching contained in the diagram, will be: "An effort ought to be made to develop Indian industries." Well, the first of India's industries is the spinning and weaving of clothing. Make the production of clothing easily possible in India and you at once lessen the supply from Lancashire and cause intense distress in that cotton-manufacturing region. To such a state have we brought things in India that even a remedy seems impossible. However, that is in seeming only. Once let there be a general agreement as to the present deplorable state of affairs and almost any set of honest men, if only they are in earnest, will discern the remedy. Whether Britons are altruistic enough to adopt the remedy when it is discerned is altogether another matter. Looking at the past and at the present there may well be doubt on the point.

"INDIA" SUBSCRIPTIONS, 1891.

Indian Subscribers are requested to pay their subscriptions as early as possible to:

BOMBAY—Mr. A. S. DESHMUKH, 37, Hornby Row.
MADRAS—Mr. M. V. RAGHAVA CHARIAR, 100, Mount Road.
CALCUTTA—Mr. J. GHOSAL, Congress Committee Rooms.
ALLAHABAD—Pandit BALDEO RAM DAVE, Secretary, Standing Congress Committee.
BHAGULPORE—The Secretary, Standing Congress Committee.
LUCKNOW—Mr. GANGA PRASAD VARMA, *Advocate* Office.

and elsewhere to the Secretaries of the respective Congress Committees, or direct to the PUBLISHER, London, by P.O.O. crossed & Co.

INDIA.
A JOURNAL FOR THE DISCUSSION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

OFFICES: 25, CRAVEN STREET, CHARING CROSS, LONDON.

Communications for the Editor should be addressed "TO THE EDITOR OF *INDIA*", and, if intended for insertion, should be written *on one side of the paper only*, and must be authenticated by the real name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith.

Advertisements, Remittances, Subscriptions, Orders for Copies, and all such communications, should be addressed to "THE PUBLISHER OF *INDIA*", **25, Craven Street, Charing Cross, London.**

Cheques and Post-office Orders to be made payable to *William Digby*, and crossed National Provincial Bank of England, Limited.

Receipts not forwarded for Subscriptions unless the remittance is accompanied by a stamped envelope.

The Annual Subscription is 2s. 6d. post free in the United Kingdom, and Rs. 3 for India. The amount may be remitted by Post-office Order, or Order on a Mercantile House.

INDIA.

MARCH 6, 1891.

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA: TWO SIGNIFICANT CIRCUMSTANCES.

I.—BRITISH RACK-RENTING; CONSEQUENCES WORSE THAN AN AFGHAN OR MAHRATTA RAID.

THE terrible story respecting the awful rack-renting by the State landlord in the district of Gurgaon, Panjab, which formed the most prominent feature in the last issue of INDIA, has constituted the subject of a question in Parliament. We may remind our readers of the main facts of the story, as gathered by the *Pioneer* from an octavo volume of several hundred pages, published at the Lahore Government Press. They are these:—

1. From 1837-38 onwards the district has been steadily rack-rented;
2. In 1877 a new settlement was made, crops failed, the State landlords refused remission, and "squeezed all the money they could out of the peasantry";
3. In 1878, crop failure again occurred: still no remission,—"the Government of India required money to prosecute its war with Afghanistan, *so* the peasantry of Gurgaon had to pay";
4. After two years of privation, in some cases of starvation, the autumn crops were good, but the people were in such a deplorable condition "that they had hardly strength enough to gather in the harvest";
5. Consequences of this rack-renting:

a. EIGHTY THOUSAND OF THE INHABITANTS, that is, about one-eighth, "disappeared"—*i.e.*, died [allowing for normal increase say, only two-thirds of one per cent. per annum, the "shrinkage" really was, not as above stated, but nearly **120,000**];

b. ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND HEAD OF CATTLE died;

c. TWO MILLIONS OF RUPEES OF DEBT was incurred;

d. CULTIVATED AREA *shrunk*, ten per cent. of it having been sold or mortgaged;

e. "No officer connected with the district showed any courage at all";

f. The Financial Commissioner (Sir J. Lyall, K.C.S.I., at present Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab) and the Lieutenant-Governor of the time (Sir C. U. Aitchison, K.C.S.I.) "both displayed a lamentable ignorance of facts or indifference to their responsibilities."

These circumstances were brought to the attention of the India Office in the House of Commons by Mr. Burt. The facts officially admitted show that the district and the people suffered as greatly as, or worse than, any district or country in Europe ravaged by an enemy's forces; the Gurgaonese suffered as badly as did any Indian district in olden time from an Afghan or Mahratta raid. That is to say, under our boasted benevolent despotism in India, when you get down to some of the real incidents of our rule, it becomes clear that the *ante*-British period of Government was, if not actually preferable, so far as the masses are concerned was equally good. How was this formidable indictment, this most disgraceful story, received by those who are responsible for what was done? Sir John Gorst's reply was one which, on reflection, ought to make that friend and champion of the Maoris feel heartily ashamed of himself. If his New Zealand heart were still in his body he could not possibly retain his present position, and talk such optimistic nonsense about the Indian people as he does. He puts all the blame for what happened in Gurgaon upon a single officer, since dead, who, of course, cannot speak for himself, and passes over Sir Charles Aitchison and Sir James Lyall and the Government of India of that day, including his colleague, Lord Cranbrook, then Secretary of State for India, and Sir John Strachey, K.C.S.I., then Finance Minister, and now a Councillor in the India Office, who, singly and collectively, were more to blame than was the subordinate officer. Indeed, so far as we are able to ascertain the facts, and so far as they have been published, no subordinate was to blame. On the contrary, the officer most immediately concerned did his duty and recommended remission. "Both Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner supported him. But," remarks the *Pioneer*, for once in its life seeing things as they are and not men as trees walking, "Imperial necessities forbade a relaxation." The supreme authorities, and not a single subordinate official, now dead, were to blame. A circular—that is to say, an imperative command—was issued from Simla, that the revenues were to be collected without remission. As the *Pioneer* remarks, "Imperial necessities forbade a relaxation." It is shameful, we repeat, that Sir John Gorst should have done such injustice to the late Mr. Gore Ouseley, Finance Commissioner of the Panjab, who was only too zealous a servant of the Government. His mouth, in his own defence, is for ever closed; his memory is outraged by those who ought to shield it from blame. Such a course, however, enables Sir John Gorst to treat the incident, with all its sufferings, and with all its cruelty, as though it were of no importance. That is in accordance with precedent, and such precedent is one of the greatest curses of Anglo-Indian rule. No one in India is ever made responsible for his deeds when those deeds are disastrous to the unhappy people under our rule. On the contrary, it often happens that, at the very time when the grossest wrong is being done the responsible official receives a special mark of Imperial approbation.

The Under Secretary for India farther stated, with a view, we suppose, of putting off Mr. Burt:—

"The Government is satisfied that the suggestions of the Famine Commission of 1880, the orders of the Government of India issued in 1885, and the provisions of the Panjab Famine Code issued in 1888, will, if carefully

observed, prevent the commission of similar mistakes in the future."

It is plain from this that Sir John Gorst had taken no pains, before answering the question, to make himself acquainted with the facts. Had he done so he would have learned some material circumstances. Not on the general Famine Codes are the unfortunate Gurgaonese to place their dependence for better treatment in future, but on the terms of a Resolution framed by Sir James Lyall, in which it is stated that the full revenue of insecure tracts shall not be realised in years of severe or long-continued drought; in addition, certain help is to be rendered to the cultivators. This reads excellently. But it means nothing. So, at least, thinks the *Pioneer*, a journal which should know the worth or worthlessness of the paper Resolutions of a despotic Power, the members of which are continually changing, and from whom, Lord Salisbury has told us, it would be vain to expect anything like a continuance of defined policy. The *Pioneer* says:

"*It reads well, does this humane resolution in print*, and doubtless the intention to squeeze the peasantry only to the extent of their ability to pay is on selfish grounds even sincere enough. *And yet we know that in the face of Imperial necessity—say another Kabul war or Madras famine—the payment of every rupee of revenue due would be enforced so long as the people could be coerced into finding the money.* Moreover, those who know how elaborate is the procedure involved before suspensions and remissions can be obtained, will agree with us that even in times of no financial pressure few officers care to undertake the labour. As a matter of fact, timely suspensions can rarely be given, and, unless timely, much of their utility is lost."

To those who are in such a situation as were the Gurgaon people in 1877-82 our inelastic, "Imperial necessity", mode of governing is more of a curse than a blessing. We, literally, left the people of that particular district, and no doubt of others, too, to starve. No oriental monarch has done worse than this. And, hypocrites that we are, we did it in the very year that Lord Lytton and Sir John Strachey, at Delhi, in the near neighbourhood of Gurgaon itself, declared their policy in regard to distressed, drought-stricken, cultivators, in these words:—

"We say that human life shall be saved at any cost, and at any effort; no man, woman, or child shall die of starvation. Distress they must often suffer; we cannot save them from that. We wish we could do more, but we must be content with saving life and preventing extreme suffering."

And, by way of enforcing this admirable utterance the men who penned it, in one district alone, actually caused, by their merciless collections,

120,000 people to "disappear";
150,000 cattle to die; and
Two Millions of Rupees of Debt to be incurred.

Words fail us to adequately and fittingly describe the situation and those responsible for it. There ought to be uneasy Hereafters for people who do such grievous wrong here, and get rewarded for it, decorated, and promoted to higher posts where they can do more mischief, as though they had acted meritoriously. But, we may be permitted to wonder of how many districts in India a similar story could be told if only as much information were available as has been published respecting Gurgaon. Apparently, there are four such districts, if not five, in the Punjab alone, while in the North-West Provinces and Oudh there are no fewer than seventeen! We ask our Allahabad contemporary to devote a little attention to these districts—say to Etah, Shahjahanpore, Lucknow, and Unao. The *Pioneer* will do the people, if not the State, some service by undertaking this duty. Will it accept our challenge?

II.—THE FREEDOM OF THE SUBJECT: "MAGNA CHARTA" IN INDIA.

If we make boast of one thing more than another in respect of our rule of India it is that, under our governance, no man can be summarily arrested and detained in prison without being informed of the charge or charges on which he is arrested, and without being granted a fair trial. Yes, that is our profession: what is our practice? We refer to our readers pp. 72 and 94 of this issue. In our Parliamentary reports will be found the story of Sheikh Abdul Rasoul, a Kashmiri Muhammadan, now in this country. The Sheikh may be a great rascal, a plotter against the maintenance of British rule in India, a bad character of the worst kind. We say he may be one or all of these, because although he has been detained in custody for nine months in India and deported from India to England against his will, no charge has ever been framed against him, he has not been brought before any tribunal to answer for any crime however great or small. Just now, the English people are excited about a University Court, possessing powers under a Charter granted by James I., after trial—of a sort—committing a woman to a House of Detention for three weeks. We are horrified at the woman being put on her trial in a secret court and without any assistance, legal or otherwise, being permitted to the accused. It is quite right we should be horrified. But, how about the grosser wrong done to Sheikh Abdul Rasoul? If the man is a bad character he should be tried and punished. If he is innocent of wrong-doing, and is merely in the eyes of the authorities a "budmash"—such a "budmash," for example, as were the two thousand respectable people in the Punjab who, less than three years ago, were compelled to give security for their good behaviour at the caprice of certain officials—then is he entitled to compensation on the highest scale for the wrong done to him. Sheikh Abdul Rasoul is fortunate in having had his cause taken up by a courageous and undaunted Parliamentarian—Mr. C. V. Conybeare. The particulars we publish indicate the spirit in which the Member for Camborne has taken up this gross wrong to a British subject, and he may be depended upon not to let the matter drop without its being thoroughly sifted and without justice being done. So far as the authorities are concerned, judging from what is published, the only satisfactory incident is to be found in Sir John Gorst's condemnation of the incivility of the Office he serves in not answering the man's letters. Here was a man landed in England against his will by the Government of India, referred by the officers of that Government to the Secretary of State for redress, without a penny in his pocket, and with only one friend in all London, treated with contumely, neither seen by any one in authority nor were his written communications answered. If Sheikh Abdul Rasoul had died of starvation in a London gutter, after being cast penniless by the Indian Government on these shores, neither Indian Government nor India Office, apparently, would have cared the value of the ancient Indian coin, "a dam." But for a friend's kindness in giving him bed and board, either the gutter or the workhouse would have received him. We know nothing to the detriment of the Sheikh, but, as we have already said, if he is guilty of any offence against the law of India there are courts in plenty in India to try him and gaols enough to provide him with a cell. We await the reparation, which, of course, the Indian authorities will make, with interest. Meanwhile, are Indian subjects of the Queen-Empress British subjects, or are they but as Russian Jews, subjected to the sweet will of a Muscovite despot, and do they thereby become objects of interest to the citizens of London in the Guildhall assembled? If so, when will the Dukes, and Lords, and Baronets, who are so much concerned about Russian Jews, take some interest in their Indian fellow-subjects? The facts of this case make such questions as these needful.

Since the above was written we learn that the India Office has admitted its responsibility towards Abdul Rasoul, has given him £10 towards maintenance and was

ready, immediately, to pay his fare back to India if only he would go. The aggrieved Muhammadan knew better than to let himself be disposed of so easily. He answered Sir Gerald Fitzgerald, who made the offer, as the Apostle Paul answered certain magistrates who had treated him unjustly. Paul's reply to the request of the magistrates that he and his companions should depart with all reasonable speed, was: "They have beaten us openly uncondemned, being Romans, and have cast us into prison; and now, they do thrust us out privily? Nay, verily, but let them come themselves and fetch us out." So, Rasoul says: "Nay, you imprisoned me for nine months; you never brought me to trial; you never told me what you had against me; you deported me to this country and left me penniless; you will have to clear my honour and give me proper compensation." Rogue or honest man, seeing that Abdul Rasoul was imprisoned without trial and deported from India in the manner described, the Secretary of State for India will be wise if he comes to agreement with such an adversary quickly. That done the constitutional question remains and will have to be settled before the grievance of Abdul Rasoul is forgotten.

OUR COLOURED DIAGRAMS.

WE need do no more here than direct the attention of our readers to the eight pages of coloured diagrams, descriptive of the condition of some of the Indian people at the present time. The tables themselves tell their own story, and where elucidation or explanation is needed it will be found in its appropriate place. In this issue, at least, we leave our readers to draw their own conclusions from the facts we place before them. The lessons taught by the diagrams are only too obvious.

AN EXAMPLE FOR INDIAN MISSIONARIES.

THE ANSWER TO CAUTIOUS, PRUDENT, PIOUS "KERRYISM."

IN the last issue of INDIA (No. 17) I noted the following passage:—"To this we would add, for ourselves, that if Mr. Kerry wants an example let him look at the career of that great man of his own community, the Rev. Mr. Kaibb, of Jamaica. What Kaibb did in Jamaica Mr. Kerry and others ought to do in India."

Perhaps it was not altogether unlucky that your printer (usually successful, even with the outlandish names you deal with) should have misprinted that name; for the slight hesitation thereby caused to the reader would recall, as with a rush of the far off interest of past years, that it was "the lion-hearted Knibb" who was meant. That was the effect on myself. With the recognition of the true name there came back to me a cluster of memories associated with that noble personality, hallowed through the haze of juvenile recollections. Once I had the delight of seeing Knibb on a missionary platform in my native place, a far away Yorkshire seaport. It is impossible for me to recall anything of what he said on that occasion; but I do remember how the fervent missionary hero, then still vigorous, moved his audience with his stirring address of mingled humour and pathos.

Not very long afterwards, probably within two years of that missionary meeting, a young companion and myself had dropped into the Baptist chapel just to hear one of the usually eloquent sermons for which the preacher was noted. But it soon became evident that something had happened. The Minister, in hesitating tones, intimated that he should step aside from the subject he had intended to preach on; but, as being in the pulpit his discourse must be in sermon form, he gave out as a text—"Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel." There were no telegrams in those days, and as the speaker went on to announce that he had chosen the text as applicable to William Knibb the missionary, whose praise was in all the (Nonconforming) churches, that was the first intimation that we, in common with the majority of the congregation, had of the sorrowful event. He described, in moving terms, how in his own family circle the news (received, I believe, that very Sunday) had struck him speechless with emotion, until his wife had roused him to explain the cause. After some sketch of the great man's career he went on to describe with a vividness that, as it were, made us all witnesses of the scene, when Knibb came over from Jamaica to urge the Baptist Missionary Board to take up the cause of their grievously oppressed brethren (for hundreds of the negroes were members of their churches) in Jamaica. The good men listened with eager interest to the sad story; but the grave and reverend President of the Board had to be reckoned with. The preacher spoke of the said President's long experience and weight of character as befitted the position; but the revered leader was also the very embodiment of caution and prudence. Hence after summing up the scope of the appeal which Knibb had urged should be made, not only to their own Baptist churches, but to the public at large, Mr. Nestor pointed out to his colleagues that to enter on what must necessarily be largely a political agitation might interfere with their purely Christian work, and, above all, it might damage the cause of their foreign missions. Here was such a crisis as proves a man's mettle. Knibb at once rose to the great height of the occasion. Amidst the pause that ensued on the President's pious counsels of prudence, Knibb sprang to his feet and exclaimed, "Then perish the Mission! I am determined that the British public shall know from end to end of the country of these dark deeds in the West Indies." And we know how the Christian hero kept his word, and eventually gave the death blow to West Indian slavery.

Words of mine would avail to carry home on behalf of the helpless masses of India the telling lesson that Knibb's noble example teaches to the Christian missionaries in that great country, if they cannot feel it for themselves. For those who believe that in the Christian faith is the only way o. salvation it is well they should devote themselves solely to its propagation; but not only men but faiths and creeds are known by their works. What said the Great Teacher? "I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink: . . . then shall the righteous [not the preacher of creeds] answer him saying, Lord, when saw thee an hungred. . . . . And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily, I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren [even unto the impoverished millions of India] ye have done it unto me". This is the answer to cautious, prudent, pious "Kerryism".

W. M. W.

FRIENDS OF INDIA FIFTY YEARS AGO.

MR. J. H. BELL's book on the above topic will, we are informed, be published some time during April. Among other things which it will contain is a letter from Daniel O'Connell, written in May, 1841, which will greatly interest all who admire the great Irish patriot, or who are anxious for the amelioration of the condition of the people of India. The letter was written to the late Mr. Joseph Pease, and has been preserved by Mrs. Nichol (Joseph Pease's daughter), by whom, with other important papers relating to Indian reform, it has been placed at Mr. Bell's service. The letter was written at a critical period in the history of our Indian Administration. The early land assessments of 1829-30 were excessively heavy, and proved disastrous to the Government revenue as well as to the country. This result, and the agitation of the question by John Dickinson, Daniel O'Connell, Pease, and others, compelled the East India Company to admit their error, and to adopt a new policy, which is thus enunciated in a minute of Sir Geo. Wingate, Revenue Officer in Bombay, written in 1841: "No unnecessary reduction can injure the country, and the Government revenue can only suffer to the extent of such reduction. An error upon one side involves an inevitable ruin of the country, and error upon the other some inconsiderable sacrifice of the finance of the State; and, with such unequal stakes depending, can we hesitate as to which should be given the preponderance?"

This new policy prevailed until 1863, and formed the basis on which Lord Canning recommended, and the Indian Secretary of State sanctioned, in 1862, the extension of the Permanent Settlement in the North-Western Pro-

vinces of India. Lord Canning's death and a change of Ministry at home led to the abandonment of that policy, and to the reimpositon of excessive assessments, which resulted in the Deccan riots, the appalling famines of 1876-79, and to some six million acres of land being thrown out of cultivation in Bombay, Madras, and the North-Western Provinces.

This is a question which Mr. J. Dacosta has especially made his own, and upon which he has, time and again, delivered himself with advantage. If he would now, in view of the Congress efforts in the same direction, devote his great knowledge and eminent abilities to the same end, he might render untold service to India.

H. E. THE VICEROY OF INDIA AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

THE following correspondence will be read with interest:—

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—I have received many letters enquiring what has been the result of our late President, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta's, reference to His Excellency the Viceroy, on the subject of certain orders of the Bengal Government to which the Congress took objection.

I am now in a position to publish His Excellency's final orders on this subject, which I hereto annex.

I am quite sure that all thinking men will feel deeply grateful to His Excellency for the kindly, straightforward and liberal spirit in which he has dealt with the entire question of the attitude which it behoves Government servants to assume in regard to the Congress and all other political and *quasi*-political movements working, like the Congress, by open constitutional means. If now officials throughout the country will only loyally abide by His Excellency's explicit instructions—and knowing the service as I do I feel confident that the great majority *will* do this—much of the bitterness that has hitherto characterized the struggle for reform will disappear, and it even seems possible that within a few years the time may arrive for another step, and the Government, instead of remaining neutral as now, may find itself in a position to co-operate heartily with both our Liberal and Conservative parties in their efforts for the common good.

Under any circumstances this candid and characteristically British declaration in favour of freedom of opinion and action in political matters in the cases of *all* private persons (no less important in its way than Lord Metcalfe's in favour of freedom of the press) ought to go far to bridge the gulf which for years, unhappily, has been widening between the European official classes and the Indian public.

Surely, now that the Viceroy has, himself, formally decided that the Congress is a perfectly legitimate movement which every private person is free to join, and that Government Officials are debarred from putting any pressure, upon any one, to induce them to abstain from taking part in it, the best plan for both parties, the officials and the native comunity, would be to shake hands and make friends, and, while tolerant of differences of opinion, and regarding the labours of the other party in the most charitable and sympathetic light, each on its own lines and according to its own opportunities, do its utmost to promote the welfare of India and her people.

Yours truly,
A. O. HUME,
General Secretary, Indian National Congress.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA.
January 19th, 1891.

Dear Sir,—With reference to the communications which have recently taken place, first, between Mr. Mehta and the Viceroy, and, after Mr. Mehta's departure from Calcutta, between yourself and His Excellency, upon the subject of the letter received by the Secretary of the Reception Committee from the Private Secretary of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in reference to the attendance of Government servants at meetings of the Congress, I am authorized by His Excellency to say that Mr. Lyon's letter of December 26th, in which it was stated that "the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government officials at such meetings", and the Circular in which that letter was communicated to the heads of Departments under the Bengal Government, were issued under a misapprehension as to the purport of the orders of the Government of India. It was at once recognised both by the Government of Bengal, of its own motion, and by the Government of India, that the letter in question went beyond those orders, and an amended Circular in which it was pointed out that the expression "absolute prohibition" had reference only to the participation of Government officials in the proceedings of a political meeting, was subsequentiy issued by the Bengal Government to the heads of departments. I enclose herewith a copy of the orders of the Government of India.

These orders, which arose out of a totally different matter, had no special reference to the Congress movement, and were certainly not framed in a spirit of hostility to it. The publications of some of the supporters of the Congress have, in the opinion of the Government of India, been open to serious questions; but, apart from this, the movement is regarded as one of those which, in the words of the Circular, are "perfectly legitimate in themselves, and which private persons are free to promote," but from participation in which Government officials are, for the reasons specified in the orders, necessarily debarred.

The Government of India recognise that the Congress movement is regarded as representing in India what in Europe would be called the more advanced Liberal party, as distinguished from the great body of Conservative opinion which exists side by side with it. They desire themselves to maintain an attitude of neutrality in their relations with both parties, so long as these act strictly within constitutional limits.

They intend that all Government servants shall preserve a similar attitude of neutrality, and shall abstain from active participation in political or *quasi*-political movements of all kinds; and also from putting pressure upon others in order to induce them to take part, or not to take part, in any movement which is legitimate in itself. It was with the above objects that the orders of March, 1890, were issued.

In reference to a specific question which you addressed to His Excellency, I am to say that the orders apply only to those who are actually, at the time being, Government servants, but not to pensioners and others who have quitted the service of the Government for good.—Yours truly,

J. C. ARDAGH, Colonel,
Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

To A. O. HUME, Esq., C.B.

No. 11/679-88.

From C. J. LYALL, Esq., C.I.E.,
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.
TO ALL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND ADMINISTRATIONS.
Home Department.
Public.

CALCUTTA, *March 18th*, 1890.

SIR,—I am directed to say that the Governor-General in Council has had under consideration the attitude which should be maintained by officers in the service of Government towards political or *quasi*-political movements with which they may be brought in contact. Servants of Government have not the same liberty of action as private individuals, and are bound to hold themselves aloof from many movements which are perfectly legitimate in themselves and which private persons are free to promote. Their participation in such movements is open to objection, because their connection with them is likely to create, and even to be appealed to for the purpose of creating, a false impression in the minds of ignorant persons that such movements have the countenance of Government, and because their influence with the community at large is liable to be impaired by their identifying themselves with the class by which the movement is promoted.

2. For these reasons His Excellency in Council desires that the following rules may be observed by all Government servants:

(*a*) As a general rule no officer of Government should attend at a political meeting where the fact of his presence is likely to be misconstrued or to impair his usefulness as an official.

(*b*) No officer of Government may take part in the proceedings of a political meeting or in organizing or prompting a political meeting or agitation.

(*c*) If in any case an officer is in doubt whether any action which he proposes to take would contravene the terms of this order, the matter should be referred to the Head of the Department or district, and if necessary to the Local Government or Administration.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
C. J. LYALL,
Offg. Secretary to the Government of India.

MR. BRADLAUGH AND MARKET RIGHTS AND TOLLS.

ONE of Mr. Bradlaugh's most valuable achievements in the House of Commons was the bringing to light of the iniquities and anomalies of our local markets. Alone he did it. The subject was new to the House; Mr. Bradlaugh compelled the Government to attend to his amazing collection of telling facts previously unsuspected; his persistence led to the appointment of a Royal Commission to enquire into them; and the final report of this august body, with its six ponderous volumes of evidence, proves that he was right. Now, alas, he is no longer there to compel the House to insist that the Government shall act on the lines of the report. Mr. Bradlaugh's contention was that, although we had in the United Kingdom no internal customs duties, frankly so called, and only the smallest signs of local *octrois*, yet we nevertheless permitted private individuals and local authorities to levy unnecessary imposts upon the food of the people by means of excessive market dues and vexatious market monopolies. The Royal Commission has unearthed a wealth of information—archæological, historical, statistical, geographical, and etymological—to establish precisely the same general conclusion. These bewildering seven volumes of blue books reveal a state of chaos as regards markets which can only be fitly described as being what might have been expected in any department of English local administration prior to 1835. The market chaos is a survival of the general municipal chaos.—*Financial Reformer*,

(*Continued from page 76.*)

the mode in which this scheme could be carried out if it was to be carried out. The Government of India set themselves to work to do this, with the result that we have in this Blue Book the draft general order and other detailed draft orders. Honourable members will have an opportunity of considering how thoroughly practical those proposals are, and into what detail the Government were prepared to go. Hon. members who have read the despatches are entitled to assume, as most men would assume after the Secretary of State had instructed the Government of India to go into this detail, that the principle was already conceded. I am perfectly certain that anyone who reads the despatches will conclude that the principle had been conceded. It was a very great disappointment, a disappointment forcibly expressed by the Government of India themselves, when in the middle of 1889 Lord Cross, the Secretary of State for India, wrote to the Government of India that while he was prepared to sanction several other reforms he was unable to give his assent to the proposal for the abolition of the presidential commands, basing his refusal on the ground that legislation would be required. Now, the question I should like hon. members to consider is, how is it that the Government of India have so continuously during the last ten years been pressing this subject on the attention of the Indian Office? As I have said, it would not be worth while for the Government to carry this on if it were merely a nominal reform they sought. It will be seen from the official correspondence that the Government of India is still as eager in insisting upon this fundamental recommendation being carried out as it was before. The reason is as much a political as an administrative one. In times of peace things get along, and there is no great harm done. But in time of war the Government of India, when active operations are entered upon, has to put the whole military control under the Commander-in-Chief. We find that what took place in Southern Afghanistan had its effect upon various individuals and authorities who are in favour of this proposal, more particularly upon Lord Lytton. It also had its effect upon the present Secretary of State for War, who in discussing the Indian Budget in 1882, said: "All he could say was that at the time of the Afghan War it was proved to him conclusively that the system as it stood was unsatisfactory. He believed there was great truth in the remark made by a distinguished general at that time, when they were employing troops both from the Bengal army and from the Bombay army, that the result was that they were not operating against Afghanistan with one army, but that they were exactly in the same position as if they were employing two allied armies. There could be no doubt that such a system as that caused very great inconvenience, and was eminently unsatisfactory. But in October, 1881, Lord Ripon's Government used even stronger language: "We believe that to any impartial mind it will be manifest with respect to the operations in Lower Afghanistan, the war was carried out with all the disadvantages and with none of the advantages attendant upon the operations of allied armies. Appointments to high command were made by one authority, while the sole responsibility for the result rested upon another. There were all the jealousies, all the delays, all the recriminations which are incidental to war carried out under such unfortunate conditions. I do not think any statement coming from a responsible government like that of India could possibly be stronger than that. It has been confirmed by speeches delivered since in the House of Lords by Lord Ripon. That was the effect of the operations in Afghanistan. The same effect was produced upon the mind of Lord Dufferin and his advisers by their experience in Quettah and Beloochistan. They say—"With this experience on record, we regard with apprehension the possibility of our being called upon at any future time to undertake more extensive military operations while hampered by so faulty a system, which violates all the recognised principles of sound military administration, and we feel that we shall be incurring a grave responsibility if we did not once more place on record the sense of the danger to India of allowing the reform so strongly advocated by our predecessors to be postponed any longer." That I think is equally forcible and equally impressive with the statement of Lord Ripon's Government as regards their experience in Afghanistan. I could further strengthen it by what has been said by Lord Landsdowne's Government in the year 1889, and by the noble lord the Secretary of State for India himself. In a despatch which he wrote to the Indian Government he speaks of these presidential commands as an evil. I think we may fairly conclude from his despatch that he looks forward to the time when the evil will be not merely mitigated but done away with. On what ground then has the India Office hitherto declined to sanction the proposal made so forcibly and frequently by the various governments of India? The argument with regard to finance was laid great stress upon by Lord Kimberley, though his Lordship no longer appears to entertain that view so strongly. The ostensible reason of the noble lord (Churchill) at the time he was Secretary for India, when he refused the reform, was that legislation would be required. I quite allow that at the time of the noble lord's despatch, October 1885, there was a general election in prospect, and that legislation on this subject at an early date was hardly possible. I also agree that to some extent in the summer of 1888 Lord Cross was justified in pointing out this difficulty of legislation. But now I venture to think no such difficulties are in front of us. We may be told no doubt that a general election is not impossible, but whether it be so or not at the present moment in this House at any rate, Her Majesty's Government have little difficulty in getting favourable consideration for their Bills. I quite recognize that the India Office is justified in not bringing forward legislation such as this of a technical character until it could fully depend upon an overwhelming consensus of opinion in its favour. But what I say and recommend is that they have already shown us they have an overwhelming consensus of opinion in their favour, and they would not meet with any substantial opposition to such proposals if they brought them forward. This was not always so. In a speech delivered in 1882 by the noble lord the member for Rossendale (Lord Hartington)—a very remarkable speech delivered on the Indian Budget—he told us that at that time there was a distinct difference of opinion amongst the members of the Indian Council upon the subject, and that the large majority of them were adverse to the proposal of the Simla Army Commission. He went on to state: "It is natural that the council should be opposed to any large and sweeping changes. The Council of India does not represent the prevailing opinion of the Indian administration. It represents the opinion of five or ten years ago or even longer, and the Council of India will always be of a Conservative character, and will very rarely go the length which the actual Government of India are prepared to go." That is the statement made by the noble lord in 1882. But it must be remembered that the *personnel* of the Council has been largely changed since that time, and I venture to hope that they are no longer in a position of hostility to this proposal of the Indian Government. But there is another department at home which has something to say upon this subject, and that is the War Office. In a debate in the House of Lords we have had the Commander-in-Chief himself stating his opposition to this proposal and as hon. members are aware very often the War Office under various governments, and not this Government only, is very apt in considering matters relating to the Indian Army, to consider them from the point of view of the British Army, and not look at Indian interests. What we want to insist upon in this debate, is that these eminently, exclusively, Indian questions should be considered from the point of view of whether they are good or bad for India and decided accordingly. I can quite understand there may be interests connected with our home affairs which might militate against the abolition of these presidential commands. They are posts of high dignity, and are often bestowed upon officers who have pre-eminently distinguised themselves, but have little or no Indian military experience. There are other recommendations which no doubt induce the army authorities at home to retain these offices, but the interests of India should be made absolutely superior to all professional interests at home. I hope I have been able to show that this proposal has been urged by people in high authority in India, and by successive governments of that country. We have had statements from Lord Ripon that he would not like the responsibility of undertaking another war outside the frontier. We have had statements from Lord Dufferin that there is great danger in not carrying this immediately, and from Lord Lansdowne that the carrying out of this reform is essential to the efficient armament of the country. Lastly we have the staement of the Secretary of State for himself in favour of this step, therefore I think we are justified in bringing this forward and insisting that no other interests, professional or departmental, should stand in the way. We urge on Her Majesty's Government to reconsider these representations of the Government of India, and endeavour to put a little pressure, if necessary upon their colleagues for a speedy carrying out of this reform. We should urge upon them, therefore, that if they have not already done so, to take further steps to have the army in India, put in the state in which all those responsible for Indian Government say it is necessary it should be, if it is to adequately discharge its duty of the defence of that country against external foes. I beg, sir, to move the resolution that stands in my name.

Sir WILLIAM PLOWDEN formally seconded the resolution.

Sir JOHN GORST: Mr. Speaker, this question, as the House has ascertained from the speech of the hon. member, is an extremely technical one, and, though nothing could exceed the lucidity with which the hon. gentleman explained it, I think it must, after all, be left to the technical advisers of the Secretary of State for India to suggest the proper solution of the difficulty. The hon. member did not quite do justice in his speech to the report of the Simla Commission of 1879, which has been the foundation of all subsequent procedure in this matter. When the Simla Commission was appointed in 1879, there were very real dangers and disadvantages in the then existing system of Indian military organization. That Commission proceeded in a most careful and exhaustive manner to examine branch by branch into the whole of the military organization. They made a great number of practical recommendations which affected every branch of the military service in India. They pointed out where there were duplicate offices, where there was division of control, and they showed that, as the organisation then existed, the Commander-in-Chief was unable in time of war to rely with confidence on receiving proper support from the local armies, and that, on the other hand, the local commanders-in-chief possessing an imperfect knowledge of the objects and nature of the military operations undertaken at head-quarters, were unable to give proper assistance. This Commission recommended the abolition of the Presidential system as one among a great number of practical suggestions which they made. This recommendation was forwarded in due time to Lord Kimberley, at that time Secretary of State for India, and was carefully considered by him.

The MARQUIS of HARTINGTON pointed out that at the time Lord Ripon was in office.

Sir J. GORST: Before the consideration of that report had been concluded at the India Office, the Earl of Kimberley had become Secretary of State. In 1883, after full consideration of the proposals of the Government of India, the proposal for the abolition of the presidency armies was rejected by Lord Kimberley, and rejected by him on its merits. It was not alleged that there was any difficulty in obtaining time for legislation in Parliament or that military difficulties existed, but the proposal rejected on its merits, and I don't think the hon. member has quite sufficiently indicated to the House the reasons that induced Lord Kimberley to reject it. They are given in a despatch of the 26th July, 1886. He says, "Looking at the differences of military opinion upon the subject"—(hear, hear)—so far from there being an overwhelming concensus of military opinion there was a difference. He says: "Looking at the differences of military opinion on the subject, and to the political objections which may be urged against the proposed reconstruction of the Madras and Bombay armies, and the absence of proof of financial saving. I do not feel justified in recommending the abolition of the Presidential armies." But instead of beginning by abolishing the Presidential armies, the Secretary of State of that day commenced the work of army reform which has been continued by successive Secretaries of State down to the present hour, by dealing, one by one, with all the other suggestions made by the Simla Commission in 1879, and by gradually removing every one of the dangers brought to the notice of the Government. There again the

hon. member has scarcely done justice to the reforms in the military administration of India, which have been carried out by successive Governments of India, and successive Secretaries of State. The British troops have always been under the command of the Commander-in-Chief, and so far from the British troops in this country having a strong motive in resisting the abolition of the Presidential armies, they have very little personal interest in the matter. Since the date of Lord Kimberley's despatch refusing to abolish the Presidential armies, the following reforms have been carried out. The Punjaub frontier force has been entirely placed under the Commander-in-Chief in India, the Military Account Department has been centralised, the separate commissariat has been abolished. We have now only one commissariat service, this change being made by the present Secretary of State only a short time ago. The whole transport service has been placed under one head; the ordnance has been placed under one head, clothing, military works, military education, and the judge advocate general's offices have been centralised. There is now, under the Government of India, one single department for all these offices for the whole of India, and the financial powers of the Commander-in-Chief have been greatly extended. The effect of these various reforms is, that at the present day the objections which could have been justly made in 1879, and which were justly made by the Commission, have been met and done away with, and there is really at the present time, as the Government of India pointed out, very little left to be done in the way of reform. There is now no strong ground why the House or the Government should proceed immediately to make any further change. And, in deciding as to further changes, what perhaps is the most important consideration of all is the political aspect of the question. The political considerations involved in the question of abolishing the control over the Native Armies of Madras and Bombay, at present exercised by the Presidential Commanders-in-Chief, are the considerations which should weigh most with the House in making them hesitate to interfere in this matter between the Secretary of State and his technical advisers. In all the circumstances of the case I can say that when the proper moment has arrived at which the question of the connection at present existing between the provincial governments and the provincial armies is ripe for consideration, the reform recommended by the Simla Commission in 1879 will be finally carried out. It is said that great difficulties may arise in time of war. I believe hon. members of the House can be perfectly easy on that score. The changes that have been made have entirely precluded any risk whatever in time of war. In the case of Burmah reference to which was made by Lord Dufferin in a despatch, there was no marked difficulty in carrying out the actual military operations in Upper Burmah. The difficulty which was experienced was a difficulty as to commissariat and transport, because while the troops employed in Upper Burmah were under the command of the Commander-in-Chief in India, the commissariat and transport were according to the regulations under the command of the Commander-in-Chief of Madras. There was thus a certain inconvenience in Burmah owing to divided control, but that has since been done away with. The Commissariat and Transport Departments are now centralised in the office of the Commander-in-Chief in India, and if the operations in Upper Burmah had to be conducted now, there would be no cause for difficulty in those Departments. I think the hon. member of the House may feel quite safe on that score. Now, why should the Secretary of State decline to make the further change which the hon. member suggests. I think I have shown the House that no strong reason for that change has been advanced. There has been no proof of danger or difficulty, and no necessity for the reform has been made out what may be advanced against the change? In the first place there is a difference of opinion among military authorities. So far from their being unanimous on that point, I may say that undoubtedly they are divided. My hon. friend spoke of the military advisers of the Indian Council being unanimous upon the subject. I may tell him that they are by no means unanimous, but that there is a marked difference of opinion between them on the matter. The hon. member has called attention to the fact that the Commander-in-Chief is opposed to the proposal, and if it comes to be discussed in detail in this House, or in another place, there would probably be a great difference of opinion expressed. Then, again, another reason which I may advance against the adoption of my hon. friend's motion is that there is no financial advantage to be gained from it. Indeed, the financial advisers of the Government of India have come to the conclusion that the change would be the reverse of economical. The third reason is a practical one. It is that this change cannot be carried out without legislation, and everyone must admit the difficulty of carrying through Indian legislation in the course of the present year. Since I have held the office of Under Secretary for India, I have tried year after year to carry Indian legislation through, but among the Bills which my right hon. friend, the First Lord of the Treasury, has massacred each year, there have always been two or three of my bantlings, and I should be very sorry to undertake any further Indian legislation under the circumstances unless a very great demand should be shown to exist for it. I do not think the Government would be justified in introducing a Bill which is not urgently required, and the discussion of which would undoubtedly take up a considerable portion of the time of the House. The fourth reason that I have to advance is that surely it would be better to wait and see the effect of the reforms which have already been introduced, before endeavouring to carry out these further proposals. I hope that the House will see that these are sound arguments in favour of not adopting the motion of my hon. friend; and without wishing to undervalue the efforts he has made, I trust the House will admit the desirability of leaving the decision of these highly technical and difficult subjects to the advisers of the Crown.

Mr. CAMPBELL BANNERMAN (Stirling, &c.): I must acknowledge the fairness with which the right hon. gentleman has dealt with the question before the House, but I wish to demur at once to one sentiment which he expressed at the commencement of his observations. It was to the effect that because this was a highly technical matter it ought therefore to be left entirely for the decision of the technical advisers of the Government. I quite agree with the right hon. gentleman that it would be presumptuous on the part of any ordinary person such as the right hon. gentleman or myself to attempt to override by the mere weight of our authority the technical opinion given by the more competent advisers of Her Majesty. But the business of the army administrator is to distinguish between the technical and other opinions he receives. You have many persons who would give technical advice, and surely the administrator is not to stand helpless in the presence of those different gentlemen for want of technical advice, but he would be bound to exercise his common sense and judgment in determining the nature and character of the advice that should be adopted. Though that strikes me, approaching this subject, as I confess, with very imperfect knowledge of the details, that strikes me as in favour of the course advocated by my hon. friend behind me. We have governor after governor in India coming back at the request of the Secretary of State at home and always urging the necessity of this great change. I am quite agreed with the right hon. gentleman that much has been done in the way of reforming the system of army organisation in India; many of the reforms recommended by the Simla Committee have been adopted, but this question is still not settled to the satisfaction of the Government of India, and the right hon. gentleman when he says that almost every grievance and difficulty has been removed by the steps taken by the Government omits to observe the fact that the last despatch we have from the Government of India—and couched in terms so strong that the words deserve to be read to the House—was written after we were informed these changes were to be introduced. I am right, I think, in this that the despatch of the 5th July, 1889, was written with the full knowledge it was the intention of the Government to carry out all the reforms indicated in reference to a despatch of the Secretary of State for War, and enumerated the different measures which the Government have been informed will be carried out. "That the Commissariat-Transport department should be placed entirely under the Government of India." "That the clothing departments should," and so forth, and I should like to know from the right hon. gentleman, as I do not wish to treat the matter in the least degree controversially, I should like to know whether any other alterations of that nature have been introduced in addition to those specified in that despatch. While the right hon. gentleman is looking it up I may occupy the time of the House by quoting the words used in that despatch. With the knowledge that the reforms which were to be made, as the right hon. gentleman says, include all the reforms, the Government of India say this: "We agree with your lordship that although these measures fall short of the larger scheme of reorganisation which has been submitted to you and to your predecessors, they will, when carried out, accomplish an improvement in the military system which cannot but be advantageous to the efficiency of Her Majesty's army in India." They go on to urge the reforms which they had urgently pressed on the Government at home, and use these very strong expressions: "Four successive Governments of India have thus supported the proposals which were put forward by the army organisation committee ten years ago. The alterations proposed in the administration of the army are not merely for the purpose of remedying inconvenience, but to impart a practical and working form to an accidental organisation which in the course of time developed into a cumbersome and complicated machinery. We desire, therefore, once again to place before Her Majesty's Government our conviction that it would be a misfortune of the greatest moment if this amendment of the military administration which we consider to be essential to the efficiency of the army in this country should not be carried ont in the breathing time of peace which we fortunately now possess, and if the desired change so persistently and so impartially advocated by the Government of India were to be postponed until the disastrous experience of war should force upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity for effecting this most necessary reform of the Indian army system." I am well accustomed to the consideration of various systems of army schemes at home, and I never knew any proposal that was not both supported and opposed by a great weight of military opinion, but let it be remembered this is no mere political or theoretical reform which is urged by some persons interested in the question in a speculative way; here are the men who are actually responsible for the safety of our Indian empire, the Viceroy and his Council, including Sir Frederick Roberts, the Commander-in-Chief, and General Leslie, signing this despatch, who, speaking of it as "a misfortune of the greatest moment if this amendment of military administration which we consider to be essential to the efficiency of the army in this country should not be carried out," and who speak of it "as this most necessary reform of the Indian army system." These expressions are used, not half-a-dozen years ago before the changes were referred to, but used in the very despatch which acknowledges the avowal of the intention on the part of the Secretary of State to introduce those minor changes. What I want to get from the right hon. gentleman, or someone on the part of the Government, is, has nothing more been dene in the interval that has elapsed since that time beyond the changes referred to in the despatch? I began by saying this is a matter in which possibly few individual members of this House can express an opinion of much authority. For myself I base my opinion on the authority of those responsible persons in India who did not take up the matter suddenly, who did not form any speculative view of it, but impressed by the necessities of the case, and under a full sense of their responsibility, urged again and again on Her Majesty's Government this should be done, and have continued to urge on the authorities the terms I have quoted, even after the subordinate changes have been made. That I think is an ample justification for my hon. friend behind me having brought forward this motion. I do not suppose, and in fact it was obvious from the tone of his speech that he did not bring it forward in any hostile spirit; we merely wish to impress upon the Government the fact that this strong representation has been made from India in favour of this great reform, and we wish to know how far the Government either have gone, or are prepared to go in that direction. There is considerable force in what the Under Secretary of State said that it is desirable to allow a little time to elapse in order that we may see how these changes that have been introduced work, and how far they may effect the purpose we all have in the matter. But in the meantime I think good has been done by public attention being directed

to this matter in this way, and I trust before the debate closes we shall have even more ample assurances from Her Majesty's Government than have yet been given that the object which my hon. friend behind me has advocated, if not fully attained has been at all events very nearly accomplished.

Sir RICHARD TEMPLE (Evesham): The right hon. gentleman the member for Stirling, who has just sat down, very properly said, where technical authorities differ it is very difficult for a politician to distinguish between them. I think I am a politician in that position, because I for many of the best years of my life was a member of this very Government in India, whose authority has been already quoted this evening, and had the honour of serving in both the minor Presidencies and conducting the Government in one in time of war. Well, sir, I may endeavour in a few moments, without detaining the House unduly at this late hour, to answer the speech of the hon. member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) who introduced this subject. He quoted, and very properly quoted, the concensus of opinion, but the concensus of what opinion? The opinion of all the successive Governments in India. No one desires to speak with greater respect than I do of the Government of India; all my prejudices and predilections are in its favour; but still as a member of this House I may venture to say that in India and all Imperial institutions, the great fault of official men is ambition, and certainly the great danger of modern times in India is excessive centralisation. The first English statesman in India who saw that was the late Lord Mayo. For many years an endeavour has been made by Governments in India to decentralise in all Imperial matters, and I venture to say that where there has been success, it has been in those places in which there has been decentralisation, and where the duties of Government have been placed on the local government and the local authorities; the great danger is the incessant concentration of all authority in all departments in one great Government. That is a position of the Government of India cannot be qualified to sustain; instead of being an administrative Government itself, it is to be a supervising Government, over seven or eight local governments in a great empire, it is be the duty of the Government of India not to govern itself but to supervise other Governments. Now, sir, as regards the concensus of opinion of the Government of India. Is there any concensus of opinion on the part of the authority of Madras or the authority of Bombay, or in this country? We have heard of the differences of opinion there are here, but I can assure the House there is still greater difference of opinion in India itself. We only hear one side of the question, but in India there are far greater differences of opinion upon this question. Well, sir, the hon. member for Edinburgh stated that India ought to be in water-tight compartments. That is a phrase he has borrowed from the master of phrases, the able master of Bombay. In that phrase I concur; but would the House consider for a moment what was the object, and still more the reason, for those exhaustive comments? It is that you must have three native armies in India. It is solely a question of native armies. In the nature of things, owing to the varieties of language, of races, and the nomadic character of the people, there is no other way in conducting the various wars and securing greater service of the army. And there is an additional reason. When these armies were first constituted there was no difficulty in getting recruits; now there is a great difficulty, and that is an additional reason for the Government of the country availing themselves of all the recruiting fields throughout the great Indian Empire. If you must have these three native armies, they have different wants, different sentiments, different prejudices, and, what is more, there are different interests. Therefore it is most essential that the various interests concentrating themselves in three great corps of the Indian Empire, that each corps should be under its own particular head, and that head should be the Commander-in-Chief. It is a matter of the gravest importance possible to make that Commander-in-Chief as great as possible, so that he shall fill the largest space in the eyes of the native troops. Hitherto it has been the policy to maintain that. Now, apparently desiring to concentrate all authority in itself, it is desired to do all that is possible to degrade that office of Commander-in-Chief to that of Commandant of a native regiment. The House heard that passage, so strongly expressed, quoted by the right hon. gentleman the member for Stirling (Mr. Campbell Bannerman). You heard the Government of India said "it would be a misfortune of the greatest moment if this amendment of the military administration, which we consider to be essential to the efficiency of the army in this country, should not be carried out in the breathing time of peace". To do what? To degrade the office of Commander-in-Chief to that of a commandant of the native army. I desire to speak with the greatest respect of the Government of India; but, after all, it is a human institution, and I appeal to this House whether these expressions have not the tinge at least of exaggeration? Will the House believe that the question whether the Commander-in-Chief either of the Madras or the Bombay army shall be called Commander-in-Chief with the *technique* rank of that office or whether he shall be called Commandant of a Native Army Corps, whether this change be so carried out or not in a time of peace is a question of "the greatest moment"? I say language of that kind carries with it half at least of its own refutation. What has been historically the effect of the present constitution of the army: each native army with its own commander-in-chief, each with its own separate interests? Why this, that in the dark days of the Mutiny, when the Bengal army revolted, the Bombay and Madras armies, though not free from the infection or contagion, nevertheless hesitated to revolt. To a man who knows the history of that time it is patent that had there been but one army, divided into so many local army corps, the danger of the Mutiny extending would have been ten times as great as it then was. Undoubtedly one of the causes, I may say the principal cause of that providential deliverance of ours was the existence of the very system the hon. member for Edinburgh desires by this resolution to destroy. It is good on the whole for the army there should be these presidential commands instead of commandants of army corps. I will not allude to the financial resources after what has fallen from my right hon. friend the Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst), but as an old finance minister of India I can assure the House that several times I have considered if I could effect a saving without seriously impairing the service, and I must say I never was able to do so. Something has been said about how the system has worked in time of war, and something also has been remarked about the two allied forces instead of one united force. Well, sir, I venture to say that that dictum will not stand the test of thorough examination. What operates when war breaks out? In the course of my time I have seen many wars break out and how came it? In this way. The Government of India settled what the military operations should be and who the officer should be who should command in the field. These questions having been decided the troops from Madras or Bombay are ordered to be sent to the field where they are entirely and absolutely under the command of the Government of India and not under the command of their own presidential Government. There is a perfect system of organization, no Imperial confusion to use the hon. member's term, and the success of the combined operations has been unbounded in all the wars ever conducted. I thank the House for listening to these remarks and I will not prolong them. I have said enough, I think, to show there are high political reasons connected with the discipline and supervision of the men and officers in the native army likely to strengthen their loyalty and make them feel confidence in the men with whom they are to work, keep their minds, thoughts, and sentiments fixed in their own proper spheres and prevent them combining for any purpose that is inconsistent with the safety of our Imperial interests.

Speaker out.

Attention being called to the number of members present, the House having resumed, the Speaker counted, and found a quorum.

Mr. MUNRO-FERGUSON (Leith Burghs): The hon. member who spoke last was, I suppose, a representative of the divided opinion to which the Under Secretary of State for India referred in his speech. But I do not conceive that the evidence he gave would weigh against the views of the successive Governments of India, whose opinions have prompted this motion of my hon. friend the member for West Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan), and I do not think that up to the present time anything has been advanced which should induce him to withdraw the motion which stands in his name. If the situation is so perfect as it has been described to us, why have we had all these reports from successive governments in India? Why have so many of these governments been practically unanimous in demanding a change on the present system? The hon. baronet the member for Evesham (Sir R. Temple), seems to advocate the preservation of a kind of triple alliance amongst the armies of India. He spoke of the civil Government of India being a supervising Government over the minor administrations, but I venture to think that that supervising system is hardly compatible with efficient military command and organization. The hon. gentleman might actually have argued that because we have inaugurated County Councils in this country the command of the militia should revert from the War Office to the Chairman of the County Council. But we have assumed an opposite direction in the conduct and control of military affairs, and I venture to think that the whole of the recommendations which have been received from India, from various persons and from various Governments in that country, tend to show that the reform which is now asked for should no longer be postponed. It is not desirable that this subject should be longer treated with anything like silence even by hon. members opposite; and I think it would be regarded with much interest by members on both sides of the House if the right hon. gentleman the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Stanhope) would give his opinion upon those military proposals affecting the army in India. (Hear, hear.) The hon. member who spoke last referred to the subject of centralisation. He said that there had been too much centralisation in India; but that contention was I think disposed of in Lord Dufferin's despatch of 1st June, 1888, in which he said: "The proposal is one which substitutes unity of general administration of the Indian armies for the present divided control. It is not a measure of centralisation in the sense of diminishing the authority of those who are immediately entrusted with the command of the different armies. On the contrary, the effect of the change would be to increase sensibly the functions of the Commanders-in-Chief of Madras and Bombay by restoring to them the direct command of the whole of their armies, parts of which has now, under the progress of events, passed away from their immediate control." The whole subject, Mr. Speaker, is one which I think is eminently suited for discussion in this House, and I agree with my hon. friend, the member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), who spoke earlier in the evening that Indian affairs are not likely to progress more prosperously because they are more frequently the subject of consideration by this House. But I think this is eminently a subject on which the House is qualified to express an opinion, and I hope the present opportunity of doing so will not be lost. The right hon. gentleman the Under Secretary for India gave various reasons against the motion of my hon. friend, the member for West Edinburgh; but the only one which seemed to have anything in it all was the one in which he said that any legislative proposal he might bring forward would not receive consideration from this House. Well, if the right hon. gentleman hatches his chickens so late in the season it is impossible that they will survive. But if he will bring his proposals early in the Session, at any rate if he brings this specific one, it will not I think be the subject of very prolonged discussion in this House at all events, and it is one which we might very easily pass into law. Another of the reasons which the Under Secretary of India gave us was the financial consideration involved. He said it would cost more money. Well, that is the first time I have heard it suggested that the proposed change would cost more money. I have never heard any good authority state that the change of system would save very much money, but I have heard it on good authority that the change would rather tend to save money than to increase the expense. At all events, that is a very minor consideration. And the contention that it is impossible that legislation can be considered by the House is very conveniently made use of. It

has been made use of before by the Secretary of State for India to the present Viceroy, when he refused Lord Lansdowne's representation on the ground that the change would involve legislative discussion and delays. Why should not a Bill dealing with the reorganisation of the armies of India be brought before this House, and passed? That is what we want to know, and what we have a right to ask.

Sir W. PLOWDEN (West Wolverhampton): It is clear from this debate that in the first place the Government of India for the last ten years, located in India, has been of one mind with regard to this matter, and it is also quite clear from the observations of the right hon. gentleman, the Under Secretary of State for India, and his supporter the hon. baronet the member for Evesham (Sir R. Temple), that they are at daggers drawn in regard to the arguments they are prepared to bring forward in support of the present system. I should like the House to notice how extraordinary is the discordance of argument upon this subject. We have from the Under Secretary of State for India a series of remarks showing what have been the many proposals made. I need not repeat them, but I may make a reference to one which seemed to have escaped the notice of the hon. baronet. I find that the hon. baronet stated that the greatest success in the Government of India had been due to decentralisation, and that there was the greatest danger in concentrating all the departments in one great office. Now, already we have the fact that in ten important particulars, power has been taken away from the presidential commands and concentrated in the Commander-in-Chief in India. I cannot understand how it is possible to get unity of control without at the same time getting a certain amount of centralisation. The hon. baronet, the member for Evesham, says there is a great danger in centralisation, and we always have to look to this when we are discussing these subjects. There was a great danger arising from the desire among statesmen in India to aggrandise their own particular parts of the country. But if that is an argument at all, it cuts the ground from under his own argument, for who are these gentlemen who are desirous of this but the provincial governors and the provincial commanders in chief, the very men who, as the hon. baronet has pointed out, are opposing this change. He says we must have three native armies in India. I have not the least objection to that; but I am perfectly certain that the Government of India have no idea of doing away with the three armies in India, and I cannot understand how the hon. baronet arrived at the conclusion that we are going to do away with these armies. There was one other topic which was referred to specially by the Under Secretary of State for India. He spoke, and he took some credit for it, of the British troops—I won't say British troops but Indian troops forming the frontier force—having been entirely removed from local commanders and placed under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief. Now, if there was an instance of the absolute necessity of doing away with the presidential command it is to be found in this example. The Punjab frontier force is one of the finest portions of Her Majesty's army in any part of the country, whether in Great Britain or anywhere else, and those who are aware of the great feats of arms which that force has performed, must be content to take that as a good expression of the past of our forces in India. But that body of troops has been transferred from the local government of the Punjab to the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief. Now, I don't think any hon. member who is acquainted with the conditions of warfare in India would venture to put against that little force the armies of Bombay and Madras. If there is a special force to which may attach greater credit than to any other of our Indian forces it is to this Punjab frontier force; yet that force can be removed from the local command of the Punjab Government and placed under the control of the Commander-in-Chief in India. Why cannot that be done in regard to the forces in Madras and Bombay? We have had certain reasons given to us, but they do not satisfy me. The present proposal has been recommended as the express desire of the Government of India for the last ten years, so that this is not the first time the Indian Government have urged their views upon it. It is a repetition of their demand that their opinions should be acted upon—an opinion which has been held from 1879 to 1890, and the claim is just as strong now as it was in 1879. The fact is that the only real ground for the refusal of the demand is to be found in the patronage which rests in the military authorities in this country. It is there that we find the dissentient opinion expressed by military authorities at home, for that dissent is not expressed by the military authorities in India. You have the Commander-in-Chief in India now as in 1879 expressing the same views as to the reduction of the Presidential commands. I should like to call the attention of the House to the very strong language in the last letter from the Government of India to the Secretary of State for India. First of all that letter disposes, I think, of the objection raised by the Under Secretary of State for India in regard to this being a matter which would give us no pecuniary advantage, because on page 200 of the Blue Book they urge this abolition of the Presidential commands in the strongest way. That was the despatch of the 5th July, 1889, from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, and it decidedly disposes of the argument that we are not to expect from this abolition of the Presidential system any pecuniary advantage. They point out also in that despatch that it was their earnest desire to have this change, and that it was a misfortune that their desire was not attained, and that this amendment of the military system should be carried out now while there is peace in the country. They say:—"We desire therefore, once again to place before Her Majesty's Government our conviction that it would be a misfortune of the greatest moment if this amendment of the military administration, which we consider to be essential to the efficiency of the army in this country, should not be carried out in the breathing time of peace, which we fortunately now possess." Now, we have had debates on this topic in this House before, and the last occasion was when we moved a resolution on the Indian Budget in 1888. We were not able on that occasion to carry our point, but the arguments in favour of it are just as strong now as they were then. I myself have a letter from a gentleman, unfortunately now deceased, who was President of the Simla Commission, and in it he expressed his indignation that the efforts which have been made by the men who composed that Commission, over which he presided, had met with such unfortunate ill success, not from the Indian Government in India, but from the Secretary of State for India in this country.

Mr. STANHOPE (Secretary of State for War—Horncastle Division of Lincolnshire): I think that whatever else may be said of this debate, it clearly shows that the House of Commons as a whole is scarcely competent to arrive at a conclusion upon a matter of such detail and of such vast importance to the administration of India. I do not think any hon. member who has spoken will seriously dispute that proposition. For instance, I find nothing in the speech of the hon. member who has just spoken which shows that he, or any one of the hon. members who have addressed the House, draws his illustrations from personal knowledge or from any knowledge attainable in this country, or so as to be able to express a confident opinion either of what has been done in India or as to the probable effect of the step which it is now proposed should be taken. The one exception is probably my right hon. friend the Under Secretary of State for India, who has watched very closely the various steps which have been taken, who is able to speak with great authority as to the views entertained by the Government of India, and who, probably alone in this House, is able to appreciate the real importance of many of the details brought under our notice. I myself am very much in the position of the right hon. gentleman the member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman). He very candidly confessed that he approaches the consideration of this subject without any knowledge of recent details, but only with that general knowledge of military detail which he has acquired in the high position he has formerly filled. I feel myself almost exactly in the same position as the right hon. gentleman. He has spoken to-night of the differences of military opinion on this subject, and he said that in his opinion there is no question of military administration whatever about which vast differences in military opinion is not to be found. Well, I entirely agree with that proposition. I am afraid my experience in that direction is even wider than his own. But I do not think he has given a fair attention to the other consideration which attaches to this subject, and that is that we have not only a difference of military opinion, but a difference of opinion amongst all the higher authorities who have had occasion to approach this question. We have had four Viceroys of India expressing an opinion in one direction. We have had four Secretaries of State for India of different periods, every one of whom objected on different grounds to the proposal that this step should be taken. Now, I think I should like the House to go so far as this—that in my opinion the difference of opinion that has existed between the Viceroys of India and the Secretaries of State for India have not altogether extended to matters of principle. (Hear, hear.) It has not been altogether difference of opinion on matters of principle that has led to that divergence of view as to the action that should be taken, but it has been because grave doubts have been entertained as to whether the precise time had come for carrying into effect the particular proposals made by the Government of India for the time being. I should like also to say this—This is not a War Office question at all. It is quite true that my connection with the War Office and the connection of the right hon. gentleman opposite (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) with the War Office, naturally leads people to expect that we should express an opinion upon a very important question of military administration, but I do think that at the War Office we have really very little to do with it indeed. British interests, and the interests of British troops are very little concerned in this matter. If any question ever was so, this is essentially a matter of Indian opinion. It is an Indian question first and last, and I am bound to add also that for that reason, special attention ought to be paid to those of Indian experience who are qualified to express an opinion on the subject. The hon. member who introduced this motion dwelt upon the danger which might exist in time of war if a reform did not take place in the system of military organisation in India; and he referred to the state of things which existed in 1879. Now, so far as regards what existed in 1879, I entirely agree with him. I expressed an opinion at the time, and everything I have heard since has only led me to form a stronger opinion on the subject. I believe our experience at the time of the Afghan War abundantly shows that the military administration at that time in India was by no means a satisfactory one; and that we might have run even greater danger than those which were proved to have existed at that time. But the hon. member has frankly admitted that since that time very great changes have been made. My right hon. friend, the Under Secretary of State for India, has explained the nature of those changes. I am not qualified to explain them myself, nor have I followed with close attention to detail the alterations that has taken place in Indian military administration. But I am certain from what I have been able to ascertain on the subject that some objections, the grave objections which existed at that time, have been entirely removed. I am confident that in any matter like this, which involves, we cannot doubt, the gravest questions of military administration, we must proceed by gradual steps. The Blue Book from which hon. members have quoted to-night, and which showed the opinions of great authorities in India and in this country in respect to this question, amply prove that amongst them all there was this general concensus of opinion that the steps to be taken were grave steps, and ought to be approached with the fullest sense of responsibility; and I believe that is all the more true because one of the main steps which would have to be taken involves political control over native troops. Now, is there any one man now present in this House who would venture to say that he is competent to express an opinion as to the precise time when political control over native troops in India ought to be transferred from one authority to another? (Hear, hear.) Certainly, sir; I do not think, having given some attention to the latest knowledge on the subject, nor is the Government prepared to say, that the time has come to carry into effect any one of the steps which are included in the general terms of the resolution that the

hon. member has proposed. But I should now like to deal with it in more detail. The right hon. gentleman the member for the Stirling burgh spoke of it in terms of the greatest moderation, but he showed very clearly that the strong bias of his mind was in the general tenour of the resolution proposed by the hon. member, and he advanced arguments to show that we must move in that direction. I admit that I have spoken strongly on this question in this House, and I do not now withdraw a word of what I have said. I believe that the system of military administration in India undoubtedly requires that a considerable modification should be made in it. Some modifications have already been made, and it remains for the government to see whether any of the changes that have been made have been effectual. It is obvious I think that every great change that has been introduced requires that any government that is wise should watch carefully the effects of the steps that have been taken up to the present time, but which may not even yet have been completely carried into effect. Therefore her Majesty's Government think it is their duty to watch and see, at any rate, for a short time what have been the results of those measures that have already been undertaken in the way of change. I am prepared to give this assurance to the House—that while we do not wish to pledge ourselves by a resolution such as the hon. gentleman has proposed, to carry into effect by legislation changes of a wholesale and widely sweeping character—while we are not prepared to interrupt the work of the House of Commons for the purpose of pushing on such a measure, on a subject like this which will require, and which ought to require very serious attention, and which must necessarily occupy a considerable amount of time, we are at the same time ready and willing to say we will take what further steps we may deem necessary to carry into effect whatever experience may prove to be essential to render complete and efficient the army organization of India. (Cheers.) Before I conclude my remarks, I should like to say this also: the hon. gentleman has put before the House a proposal, which involves, if it be carried, our arriving at a conclusion of a most desperate character, and which would commit the House and the Government to immediate legislation on this subject. Of course if the hon. member insists on taking a division, we shall be forced to a vote; but let me ask the House what would be the effect of such a proceeding? The resolution proposed by the hon. gentleman would, in all probability, be rejected, and this House would thereby be affirming that it is not prepared to accept the proposition of the hon. gentleman. Now, sir, that is not the spirit in which I desire to approach this question. On the contrary, I desire to approach it in the spirit of one, who, to a great extent, sympathises with the principle enunciated by the hon. member, but who also desires that the House and the Government should be allowed sufficient time to enable them to judge fully and fairly of the effects produced by the measures that have already been taken, in the belief that the time will then come when we ought to take counsel, and consider whether or not any and what measures may be necessary to carry out the changes that have been suggested. (Cheers.)

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): I must confess that when I first read the motion of my hon. friend I thought it was intended to be much wider in its scope than it has proved to be. It proposes "to call attention to the Presidential system of government in India," and I thought the hon. gentleman was going to raise the question of separate Presidencies, in regard to which my own opinion is that separate Presidencies are an inconvenient and expensive survival, which is only justified by those who regard them from the patronage point of view. For my part I am of opinion that the time has come when they ought to be abolished. But I find that my hon. friend has confined himself entirely to the military aspect of the question, and as he has taken that course I will endeavour to confine myself solely to the military and financial view which is presented by this subject. With regard to the financial part of the question I have a very strong opinion. It is that I desire that the Commander-in-Chief—the great officer of the British Army who holds the command of the armies of Madras and Bombay—should be done away with in the interests of economy and the interests of efficiency. We are told that the whole of the European army in India is under one Commander-in-Chief, and I think it a very good system that it should be so. I know from personal experience the difficulties that arise from this command of the different divisions of the army. I think that the arrangement under which the three armies of India are commanded is a very extravagant and a very undesirable one, and as far as that point is concerned I am entirely with my hon. friend. But on the other hand, and from a military point of view, I think that the native army ought to be divided, and that the policy of such a division is made apparent by the experience we have had of the great Mutiny in India. In my view the success with which we were enabled to meet and overcome that Mutiny in India was very much due to the separation of the native armies, because by dividing one native army from another we adopt as it were the system of building in compartments in such a way that if one compartment takes fire the other does not. I hold very strongly the view that while we have in India one European army, and also to some extent a general reserve native army, it is most desirable to keep entirely apart the native armies belonging to the different governments of India—I will not say of the Presidencies. It is exceedingly desirable that the native armies should at all times be kept under separate control and that they should never be allowed to come too much together. This was a policy which I myself advocated when occupying the position I held in India, and I believe that in this view which I hold very strongly I am supported by the majority of the Council of the Secretary for India. It has always seemed to me that the peculiar position of the natives in some parts of India is such that it is most desirable that we should not have too much centralisation, but that to some extent we should adopt the principle of Home Rule in these matters. It appears to me that it is an injurious policy to centralise too much, and that it is always safest and best to keep the native Indian armies divided. With regard to the civil aspects of these native armies I think that in matters connected with enlistment, the terms of enlistment and their general relations to the State there should be a strong element of local government, and not too much centralization. From a purely practical point of view I am very desirous indeed of seeing a certain amount of power over the local armies maintained by the local governments of India. I know how expensive it is in the case of a little war to bring to bear all the heavy paraphernalia of a great centralized army. On the last occasion when I was serving out in India, I thought I might have avoided these little wars: but I was not so fortunate. In the east of India we had a good many little wars, and when the Commander-in-Chief had to be appealed to, the result was that everything was done on a great scale, two large forces being sent from different points with different commissariats and different supplies of material. Those two forces were, no doubt, successfully "marched up the hill" and then equally successfully "marched down again", and as they, for the time being, quelled the raids of the wild tribes they were called upon to subdue, the expedition was upon the whole regarded as a very successful one. But after a time those wild tribes became as bad as ever, and I believe they are giving a great deal of trouble down to the present moment. The result was that I had a good many little wars to contend with and I found that by avoiding the appealing to the Commander-in-Chief and carrying on those little wars in my own way I was enabled to bring them to a successful issue. As I have said it is in my view most desirable that in these matters there should be certain powers granted to the local governments. I am not sure whether the Punjab frontier of India is now under the control and management of the Governor of the Punjab, but if it be so it is desirable that he should have certain powers enabling him to manage things in his own way and that the Commander-in-Chief should not be allowed to annex the frontier Punjab force. I am not sure whether Madras and Bombay are parts of India which most require a native army; but we have a native army in Burma, and I am quite sure that there is no necessity for the large paraphernalia the Commander-in-Chief now has in Bombay. I hope that things are not now as bad as they were formerly. If in the future we are enabled to carry out in reality with regard to finance that which is nominally supposed to be carried out and if we unite the European force with the General Service one, at the same time maintaining the local armies under distinct commands we shall in that way save a large portion of the expense which has now to be incurred.

Mr. BUCHANAN: Sir, the statements which the right hon. gentleman, the Secretary for War, has made were on the whole fair. He stated that if further steps were necessary for carrying out the object which the Government of India have in view, the present Government were prepared to take those steps as soon as they found they were necessary or practicable. Under the circumstances, therefore, I beg to withdraw my motion.

The motion was then by leave withdrawn, and the discussion terminated.

FEBRUARY 18.

THE OPIUM TRAFFIC.

Sir J. PEASE (Durham, Barnard Castle): I beg to give notice that on this day four weeks I will call attention to the Indian Opium traffic and move a resolution.

MISGOVERNMENT AND STATE RACK-RENTING IN THE GURGAON DISTRICT.

Mr. BURT asked the Under Secretary of State for India whether he would lay upon the table of the House the report of the revised settlement of the district of Gurgaon, Panjab, and all other papers connected therewith, until orders were passed and including the orders passed by the Panjab Government; whether he was aware that remissions of rent were refused by the Government of India to the people in a time of crop loss through drought and that between 1877 and 1882, 150,000 head of cattle were found to have died, 80,000 of the agricultural population had disappeared, and a debt of Rx.200,000 incurred; and whether the Secretary of State would inquire into these facts and take such steps as will put a stop to their recurrence.

Sir J. GORST: The report and papers asked for, make a volume of 500 pages. I shall be glad to lend the hon. member a copy, but the Government does not think it necessary to lay it on the Table. The Government is aware that a mistake was made by the official, since dead, who refused to suspend a part of the land revenue in Gurgaon in 1877. But since then substantial benefit has been conferred on the district by remissions of arrears, by reduction of the demand, and by loans for the purchase of cattle. The cultivated area of the district is returning to the old level, and the number of cattle has been fully recovered. The Government is satisfied that the suggestions of the Famine Commission of 1880, the orders of the Government of India issued in 1885, and the provisions of the Panjaub Famine Code issued in 1888, will, if carefully observed, prevent the commission of similar mistakes in the future.

INDIAN FACTORY LEGISLATION.

Mr. JAMES MACLEAN (Oldham) asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether he could give the House assurances that the Government of India will pass into law a Bill to amend the Indian Factory Act before the Viceroy leaves Calcutta for Simla, and that the provisions of this Bill will include as a minimum the rules adopted at the International Labour Conference at Berlin regarding age, hours of labour, and hours of rest and refreshment.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: The Secretary of State in Council has been in communication with the Viceroy and Government of India, and he is informed that legislation will be proceeded with immediately to amend the Indian Factory Act. The provisions of the Bill will follow, generally speaking, the recommendations of the International Labour Conference at Berlin, with this limitation, viz., that it is proposed to raise the age of employment of young children from seven to nine years, and the employment of women and children at night is to be prohibited. The Secretary of State has urged that the provisions for

the employment of women and children should be in accordance with the recommendation of the Berlin Conference.

Mr. MACLEAN: With reference to one point in the right hon. gentleman's answer, may I ask him whether, as the minimum age of employment of children in some European countries was fixed at ten years at the Conference at Berlin, and as Indian children are of a weaker and more delicate race than children in European countries, the right hon. gentleman will press upon the Indian Government the importance of fixing the minimum at ten years instead of nine.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I have no hesitation in saying that the Secretary of State is impressing that view upon the Government of India and will continue to do so.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: May I ask whether the recommendations of the Berlin Conference were stated by that Conference not to be applicable to the case of a tropical country, and whether they are consistent with the interests of the people of India or whether they are only urged upon the Government by a few Lancashire members?

Mr. SMITH: I am not aware of the limitation to which the hon. member refers; but I am under the impression that the sole object the Government of India and the Secretary of State have in view is that the regulations of labour in factories in India is consonant with humanity, and in the interests of the Indian people themselves.

THE STRANGE TREATMENT OF SHEIKH ABDUL RASOUL.

Mr. CONYBEARE asked the Under Secretary of State for India under what article of the Indian Penal Code have the Government of India power to arrest any person on landing at an Indian port, to examine his wearing apparel, cutting opening his boots and other articles of clothing, to imprison him to an inland gaol and detain him there for nine months at a time without preferring against him any charge or bringing him before any tribunal.

What ground of suspicion had the authorities in India against Sheikh Abdul Rasoul.

Whether he was aware that Sheikh Abdul Rasoul himself called at the India Office and asked to see Lord Cross, who after keeping him waiting for three hours refused to see him. Whether a registered letter had been received at the India Office from Rasoul, why no acknowledgment of such letter had been returned to him, and whether he would undertake that some reply shall be sent to him.

Whether as the Government have brought back Rasoul to this country and landed him destitute without means of subsistence and without friends in London they will take steps to provide some support for him pending the reply which he may receive from the Indian Government.

And whether it is the intention of the Government to detain Abdul Rasoul in this country and to prohibit him from returning to his own country, and if so on what grounds and under what statutory or other powers they are in such case acting?

Sir JOHN GORST: I informed the hon. gentleman yesterday that the Secretary of State was awaiting information on this subject from India, and pending the receipt of that information I am afraid that I cannot answer many of the questions which he has put. But in answer to paragraph 3 I am aware that Abdul Rasoul did call at the India Office on one of the days when my noble friend was out of London and therefore he was not able to see him. In answer to the fourth paragraph I stated yesterday that a letter had been received at the India Office, and I regret that no acknowledgment had been sent. In answer to the last question the Secretary of State has neither the power nor the intention of detaining Rasoul in this country.

Mr. CONYBEARE: There are two points on which the right hon. gentleman has given no answer and which I think he could reply to without awaiting letters from India. I want to know whether he will see that an answer is sent to this unfortunate man as to what decision the authorities have come to, and I also wish to ask the right hon. gentleman whether, as this unfortunate man has been brought to this country against his will, and has been landed in this metropolis destitute and without friends or means of support, he will consider the propriety of making some provision for him?

Sir JOHN GORST: The hon. gentleman begs the whole question. We are awaiting information from India as to whether this man was sent here, and until the Secretary of State receives that information as to whether the Government of India are responsible it is impossible for me to reply to the question.

Mr. CONYBEARE: Will the right hon. gentleman make any provision for this man's subsistence. I understand that he does not contradict that he was arrested in India and sent to gaol and kept there for nine months without trial, and I wish to know whether he will recommend that some allowance shall be made to him to enable him to subsist in England?

Sir JOHN GORST: I have never heard that the man was in a state of destitution. He certainly has made no such statement to us.

February 20.

EX-SULTAN ABDULLAH, OF PERAK.

Mr. FRANCIS STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether, having regard to the fact that the ex-Sultan Abdullah, of Perak, has now been exiled for more than fourteen years in the Seychelles Islands, and bearing in mind the peculiar circumstances connected with his trial, the Government are prepared to reconsider the answers given on the 5th of May and 1st of August 1890, and to consent to re-open the case: whether, if they decline to adopt that course, they are prepared to allow him either to be set at liberty, or to visit England; and, whether they are aware that Sir Benson Maxwell, formerly Chief Justice of the Straits Settlements, is of opinion that the ex-Sultan is innocent of the charge which resulted in his sentence.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron H. de Worms, Liverpool, Toxteth): Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to reconsider the decision formerly conveyed to the hon. member against re-opening the case of Abdullah, or allowing him to visit England, but the Secretary of State is again in communication with the governor of the Straits Settlements as to whether any steps can be taken to ameliorate the ex-Sultan's present position. It is known that Sir Benson Maxwell held the opinion attributed to him in the hon. member's question.

DISTURBANCE AT CAMBAY.

Mr. BURT (Morpeth): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether the Secretary of State will lay upon the table of this House all papers connected with a disturbance which occurred in Cambay, in Bombay, in September last, in the suppression of which British troops were employed and fifteen cultivators were killed, 150 wounded, besides hurt occasioned to numerous women and children, and houses and a temple looted and plundered of cash and ornaments; whether the Bombay Government have recently sanctioned the remission of increased land taxation imposed by the ex-Dewan, Mr. Shamrao Narayan Laud, the imposition of which was said to be the cause of the disturbances; and, whether he will grant a public inquiry into the origin of the disturbances which are alleged to have arisen through misgovernment.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): Yes, Sir, the Secretary of State will lay upon the table all the papers relating to the disturbance which occurred in Cambay in September last. The hon. member will find from those papers that the description of the occurrence which has been given to him and on which he has founded the question, is inaccurate. In answer to the second paragraph of the question I have to say that the Bombay Government has given instructions that will have the effect of reducing the land taxation. In reply to the third paragraph of the question I have to say that a very full public inquiry into the origin of the disturbances has already taken place and the result will be found in the papers presented.

THE FACTORY COMMISSION IN INDIA.

Mr. KING (Hull, Central): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether, in view of the fact that the recent Factory Commission in India was composed chiefly of Natives, and confined itself almost entirely to the examination of Native operatives, and did not give the millowners or managers any adequate oportunity of stating their side of the case, the Government proposes to legislate on the basis of this investigation: whether, before interfering seriously with the existing conditions of Indian factory labour, the Government will consent to have a fuller inquiry: whether, on the whole, the Commission reported against any extensive interference with the existing regulations: and, whether, before any legislation is undertaken, the Report of the Commission will be issued to Parliament, and an opportunity will be given for a discussion of such proposals in this House.

Sir J. GORST: The inquiry and report of the recent Commission were intended to supplement the information already before the Government and Legislature in India; and it is proposed to legislate on the basis of the whole of the information available. It is not proposed to have a further Commission of Inquiry at present. The recent Report of the Factory Commission was presented on the Sixth of February and is now being printed.

Sir W. HOULDSWORTH (Manchester, N.W.): Can my right hon. friend say when the report containing this information is likely to be in the hands of members?

Sir J. GORST: I can only inform my hon. friend that the papers are in the hands of the printers, and that I am doing everything in my power to push them on.

HOURS OF LABOUR IN INDIA.

Mr. KING: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether he is correctly reported in the *Times* to have said at Chatham on Thursday, Feb. 12th, "He contended that the State might very well limit the hours of labour of their own employees, of railway servants, those engaged in unhealthy occupations, and also of the Natives employed in the mills in India:" and, whether the Government contemplates any further interference with the conditions of labour in Indian mills than is necessary for the protection of women and children; or intends, as appears to be suggested by his remarks, that all labour in Indian mills shall be placed within the category of exceptional legislation.

Sir. J. GORST: The report quoted is an epitome of what I said. It is not intended to legislate for the protection of adult male labourers in India beyond providing for the fencing of machinery in factories, and for the general stoppage of all work for half an hour in the middle of the day.

THE INDIAN FACTORIES ACT.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy): I had intended to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, if Her Majesty's Government will lay upon the table the correspondence between the Authorities in this Country and the Government of India on the subject of the Indian Factories Act. As the right hon. gentleman is not in his place, perhaps the Under Secretary of State for India is in a position to answer the question.

Sir J. GORST: Yes, sir. The correspondence has not yet been laid upon the table because it is not yet completed; but there has already been laid upon the Table the report of the Factory Commission and if the hon. member will move for the correspondence which took place last year that also shall be laid on the table.

Sir G. CAMPBELL: I think the House ought to be in possession of the documents by which certain views of Her Majesty's Government were pressed upon the Government of India.

Sir J. GORST: Those are exactly the papers which I ask the hon. member to move for. I have said that the hon. member can have the papers in which the views of Her Majesty's Government were pressed upon the Government of India.

Sir G. CAMPBELL: Will they be laid upon the table in the ordinary course?

Sir J. GORST: Yes, sir, if moved for.

THE PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT OF INDIA.

Mr. GROTRIAN (Hull E.): had upon the paper the following notice: To ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been called to the fact that the Secretary of State has repeatedly enjoined on the Government of India that, in the Public

Works Department of India, fair treatment should be meted out, as between the Civil and Military Officers, in the matter of promotion and in other matters; and that, by notification 89 G. in the "Gazette of India," of 13th January, 1890, a resolution was published, in which it was stated that the number of appointments sanctioned for the Military Works and Public Works Departments were distributed as follows: one chief engineer and six superintending engineers for the Military Works Department, to 13 chief engineers and 32 superintending engineers in the Civil Department; and it was announced that "the Governor General in Council had been pleased to rule that in future there shall be a separate scale for the promotion of chief and superintending engineers of the Military and Public Works Departments respectively;" whether he is aware that in the following month a circular 390 G. of 26th February 1890, was issued by the Government of India in the Public Works Department to the Military Works Department, stating that superintending engineers in that branch (*i.e.* Royal Engineers Officers on Military Duty) would be eligible for appointments as chief engineers in the Provincial Works Branch of the Public Works Department; and, whether these contradictory orders have been issued with the assent of the Secretary of State; and, if not, whether he will direct a withdrawal of notification No. 390 G. of 26th February 1890. The hon. member deferred the question for the present.

EAST INDIA FACTORY ACTS.

Ordered "Address for copy of any communications from Her Majesty's Government in this Country to the Government of India with a view to the amendment of the Indian Factory Acts following upon the Berlin Conference or otherwise originating since that Conference." (*Sir G. Campbell.*)

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT PROMOTION.

Mr. GROTRIAN: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, whether his attention has been called to the fact that the Secretary of State has repeatedly enjoined on the Government of India that, in the Public Works Department of India, fair treatment should be meted out, as between the Civil and Military Officers, in the matter of promotion and in other matters; and that, by notification 89 G. in the "*Gazette of India,*" of 13th January 1890, a resolution was published, in which it was stated that the number of appointments sanctioned for the Military Works and Public Works Departments were distributed as follows: one chief engineer and six superintending engineers for the Military Works Department, to 13 chief engineers and 32 superintending engineers in the Civil Department; and it was announced that "the Government General in Council had been pleased to rule that in future there shall be a separate scale for the promotion of chief and superintending engineers of the Military and Public Works Departments respectively:" whether he is aware that in the following month a Circular 390 G. of 26th February, 1890, was issued by the Government of India in the Public Works Department to the Military Works Department, stating that superintending engineers in that branch (*i.e.* Royal Engineer Officers on Military duty) would be eligible for appointments as chief engineers in the Provincial Works Branch of the Public Works Department: and, whether these contradictory orders have been issued with the assent of the Secretary of State; and, if not, whether he will direct a withdrawal of notification No. 390 G. of 26th February, 1890.

Sir J. GORST: The subject has already engaged the attention of the Secretary of State who is in communication with the Government of India on the question.

February 24th.

EAST INDIA (CAMBAY DISTURBANCES).

Ordered "Address for copies of or extracts from correspondence relating to disturbances in the native state of Cambay" (*Mr. Burt, Morpeth*).

THE ASSAM CHITTAGONG RAILWAY.

Mr. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, why, in the last two years' Indian Railway Reports, no mention has been made of the Assam-Chittagong project which was under negotiation, although other projects are described or spoken of, and the provisional route for the Assam line is duly marked on the map accompanying these Reports; if, as is understood, a concession has now been granted by the Secretary of State for this Assam Railway, can a statement of the terms on which the grant is made be laid upon the table; and, as it is said that a three per cent. guarantee is to be given on one and a-half millions of the capital, from what sources is the four and a-half millions, required to make up the estimate of six millions, to be supplied.

The UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir J. Gorst, Chatham): The reason why no mention was made of the Assam Chittagong Railway project in the reports referred to is that there was nothing fresh to report. Negotiations are now going on for the construction of the line, but nothing has been yet finally settled.

SAVE YOUR BOOTS AND HARNESS.

DALES' GOLD MEDAL DUBBIN

Makes Boots and Harness and all leather goods Waterproof as a duck's back and soft as velvet. Puts NEW LIFE into the Leather, whether lost by wear, climatic heat, or saturation of water, and if occasionally applied will add three times to its wear. Allows a fine polish after application. Supplied in yellow or in black tins.

Awarded more Gold Medals for superiority than all other Dubbins combined.

J. T. DALES,
EAST DULWICH, LONDON, S.E.
Can be Indented through HUTCHINSON & Co., or any of the leading Export Houses.

A Most Suitable Present for the Young.

THE YEARLY VOLUME OF
SPRINGTIDE,
NOW READY,
PRICE 2s. 6d., or Rs. 2,
With Postage to India.

Handsomely Bound in Cloth, with Gilt Edges.

PUBLISHERS:
For the United Kingdom:
ELLIOT STOCK, 62, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.
For India and the Colonies:
M. H. ABDUL-ALI, 5, Bedford Row, London, W.C.

NOTE.—Our First and Choice Edition being limited in number, will the Subscribers kindly send in their Orders as early as possible, either through their bookseller or direct to the Publishers.

THE LARGEST AND PUREST HOMŒOPATHIC ESTABLISHMENT IN THE EAST.
LAHIRI & CO.,
Wholesale and Retail HOMŒOPATHIC CHEMISTS AND DRUGGISTS,
101, COLLEGE STREET, CALCUTTA.
BRANCH PHARMACIES: (1) SOVABAZAR; (2) BANKIPORE; (3) PATNA CITY.
Have the largest stock of Homœopathic Medicines, Books, and Sundries imported regularly from ENGLAND, AMERICA and GERMANY.
Catalogues and Price List free by post.

LAHIRI, RAY & CO., PERFUMERS,
103, COLLEGE STREET, CALCUTTA.

WE are glad to inform the public that within the short period of our existence we have been favored with patronage from Maharajas, Rajahs, Zemindars, Noblemen, and gentlemen throughout India. We guarantee the best quality and genuineness of our articles, which are prepared under our own supervision.

NOVELTIES IN PERFUMERY.

Attar of Patchouly, per tola .. .. .. Rs. 2
Attar of Lemon Flowers, per tola 3
Attar of Kaora, per tola .. Rs. 2 and Rs. 2-8
Attar of Juin, per tola 2
Attar of Hena, per tola, Rs. 1-8, Rs. 3, Rs. 4 and 5.

CATALOGUE AND PRICE LIST FREE ON APPLICATION.

HUTCHINSON & Co.
Merchants, Bankers, and Agents,
25, CRAVEN ST., CHARING CROSS, LONDON.

AGENTS: Bombay, Bhaisett & Co, Sirdars Buildings, Old Secretariat Fort.
Calcutta, Ker, Tarruk & Co., 11, Clive Street.

CONSIGNMENTS received, realized, and promptly remitted for.
INDENTS and purchases of every description made and forwarded at lowest rates.
PASSENGERS by the P. & O., Orient, British India, and other Lines met by own officials, to take charge of Baggage, clear and deliver it, and otherwise assist Passengers.
CUSTOMS and General Agency. Bills of Lading attended to. Goods cleared at Customs and delivered in any part of United Kingdom, warehoused and otherwise dealt with as instructed.
ARMY, Navy, and Civil Pay and Pensions realized.
TELEGRAPHIC Remittances of Money to Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras made.
ORDERS on the London Stock Exchange executed.
DEPOSITS at Interest for Fixed Periods and open Current Accounts for the convenience of Constituents in England and India.
STORAGE and Insurance. Agents for the Sun Life and Fire Insurance Company.
INFORMATION promptly furnished. Moneys recovered. Letters carefully considered and answered.

The Representatives of Messrs. HUTCHINSON & Co. board Steamers from the East on their arrival at Gravesend or at the Docks, to take instructions for Clearing and Forwarding Baggage, &c.

Mr. AZIZ AHMAD,
FROM LUCKNOW,
TEACHER OF ARABIC, PERSIAN, HINDUSTANI, &c.
Lecturer on Egypt, Afghanistan, India, &c.
Address:
36, BANK STREET, HILLHEAD, GLASGOW.

W. B. DALE,
(Late YOUNG & CO.),
Stationers and Printers,
Account Book Manufacturers.

ENGRAVING, DIE-SINKING, RELIEF STAMPING, and ILLUMINATING

28a, VILLIERS STREET, STRAND, W.C., LONDON,
East side of Charing Cross (S.E.R.) Station.

PRINTING.
A. BONNER,
34, BOUVERIE ST., LONDON, E.C.

NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, LEAFLETS, Pamphlets, Books, &c.

Commercial, Professional, and General Printing.

GOOD STYLE AND QUALITY.

THE
BELT DRAWERS.
A SPECIALITE IN GENTLEMEN'S UNDERCLOTHING.

The article is formed on a principle that affords to the wearer a nice, gentle, and uniform support to the loins, abdomen, etc., imparting therewith a sense of remarkable comfort, as also a pronounced healthful influence.

Moderate price and excessive durability, rendering the article an economical garment withal.

Makers and Originators of the Article,
SANDLAND & CRANE
Gentlemen's Hosiers,
55, Regent St., London.
(The Quadrant section of the street, and next to Swan and Edgar's.)

Illustrated Prospectus and Price List on Application.

Mrs. S. ASSER,
Milliner and Ladies' Outfitter,

MATINEES AND TEA GOWNS
IN THE NEW COTTON CREPE, from **3** to **6 Guineas.**

THE JEAAN TEA JACKET,
In Soft Washing Silk, with Lace Sleeves. Transparent or lined a Colour.

ALL KINDS OF WOVEN UNDERWEAR.

IN MILLINERY
The arrangements are entirely new, **very large Hats being the Style affected**, some trimmed with trails of spring flowers, which prove most becoming.

The **TUDOR BONNET**, in Black and Gold Passmenterie, **21/-**
Very tiny and becoming.

CLEOPATRA COINS, BANDS, and SERPENTS,
In Gilt Jewelled, for Fancy Dress.

NEW DESIGNS IN FANS, from 7/9. | FANS FOR CHILDREN, 6 to 8 in. long, 3/9 to 10/9 specialitie | FANS MOUNTED AND REPAIRED.

To ensure immediate attention, a Cheque or London TRADE Reference must accompany all Orders.

8 & 9, Burlington Arcade, London, W.

W. A. STIMSON,
MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC TAILOR.
INDIAN OUTFITS.
52, MADDOX STREET,
NEW BOND STREET,
LONDON, W.

WILCOX, WOODROW & Co.
Tailors and Outfitters,
20, PRINCES STREET, HANOVER SQUARE,
LONDON.

THE ASTHMA CURE.
An Indian Remedy. Prepared from a single vegetable root.

An INFALLIBLE REMEDY for this fell disease.

Tried with marvellous effect in many cases of long standing in children, in grown-up people, and in the aged. A single administration of the juice in the Indian climate has almost invariably produced a radical cure. Enquiries in England may be made of Messrs. HUTCHINSON & CO., 25, CRAVEN STREET, LONDON.

L. M. GHOSE, BHAUGULPUR, BENGAL, INDIA.

Among many Testimonials received are the following:

I have much pleasure in certifying that my second son, who suffered for more than four years from almost monthly fits of asthma of a very severe type, has been cured in a way almost miraculous by a single administration of Doctor Ladli Mahan Ghosh's simple remedy. I gratefully testify to its marvellous effect, and as my child has had no fit for the last three years and has shown signs of increasing health and cheerfulness, I hope that the disease has been radically cured.
PARAPADA GHOSHAL, M.A.
Head Master, Zila School, Bhagalpur.
October 12, 1890.

Durbhungah, *August* 28, 1890.
The season is coming again for asthma, and we are soon going up to Simla, where you know the climate is too cold and may bring out asthma. I would like you to send me some asthma roots, in case the disease appears I will then be able to stop it. Lots of people come to beg it of me, and so if you can please send a good quantity. Don't fail to send me some by return post; we may return for Simla immediately.

MIRACLE.
DR. W. C. ROY'S
SPECIFIC FOR INSANITY.
Numerous Testimonials.

SOLD at No. 25, Prosunno Cumar Tagore's Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5 per phial. Rupee 1, in addition for postage and package.

U. N. BAGCHI, M.A.,
MANUFACTURING CHEMIST.

HINDU TOURISTS' PARTY
TO EUROPE, AMERICA, CHINA, JAPAN and the STRAITS.

HINDU Noblemen and Gentlemen desirous of proceeding to England or any other parts of Europe, to America, or to China, Japan, and the Straits, in the Hindu style, will please communicate with, and send in their names for registration to, the undersigned.

CHARU CHUNDER MITTER
(Of Allahabad and Calcutta),
Care of the Editor, *Indian Mirror*,
74, DHURRUMTOLLAH STREET,
CALCUTTA.

Printed by A. Bonner, 34, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, London, E.C. and Published by W. Digby, 25, Craven Street, Charing Cross, W.C.